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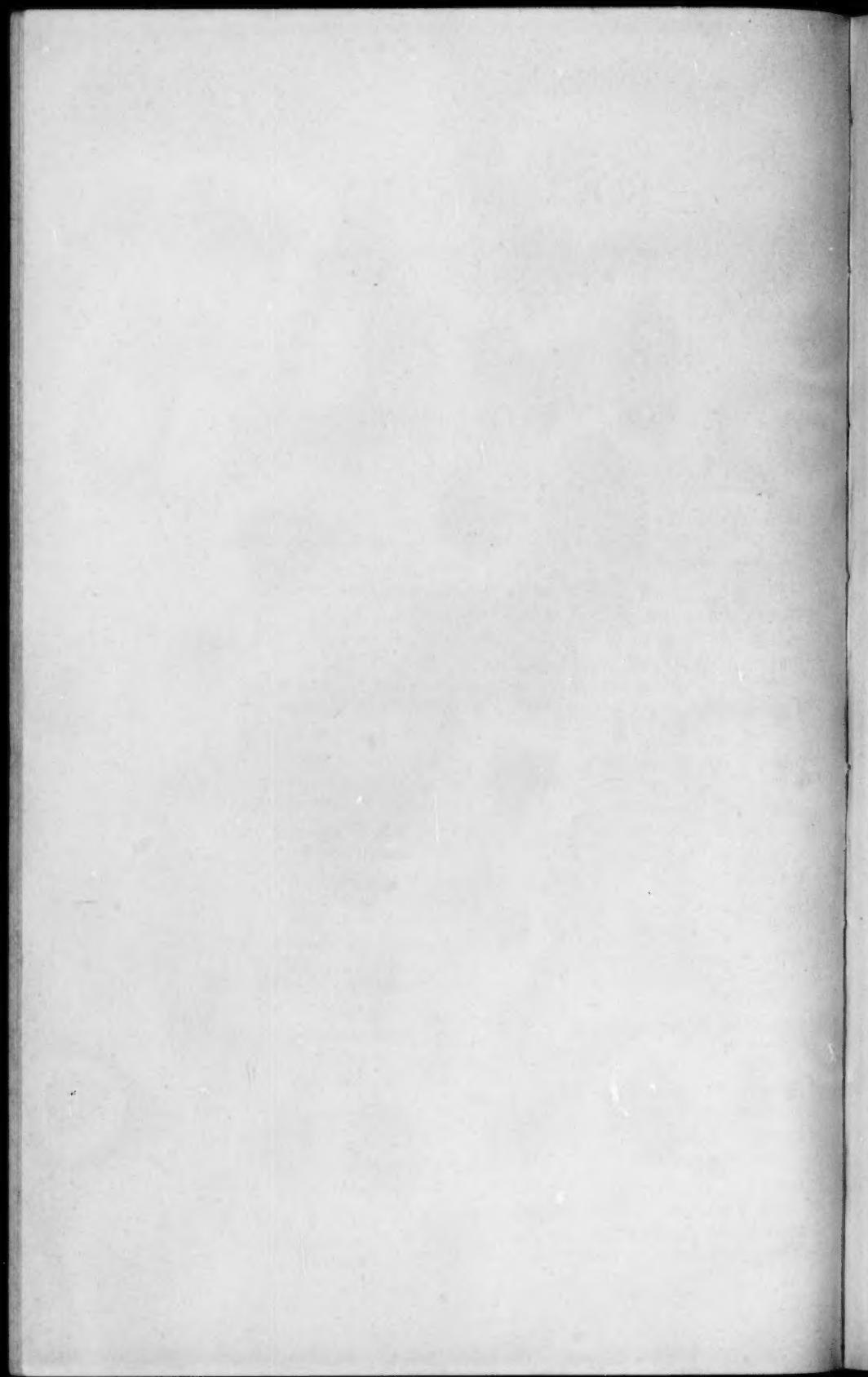
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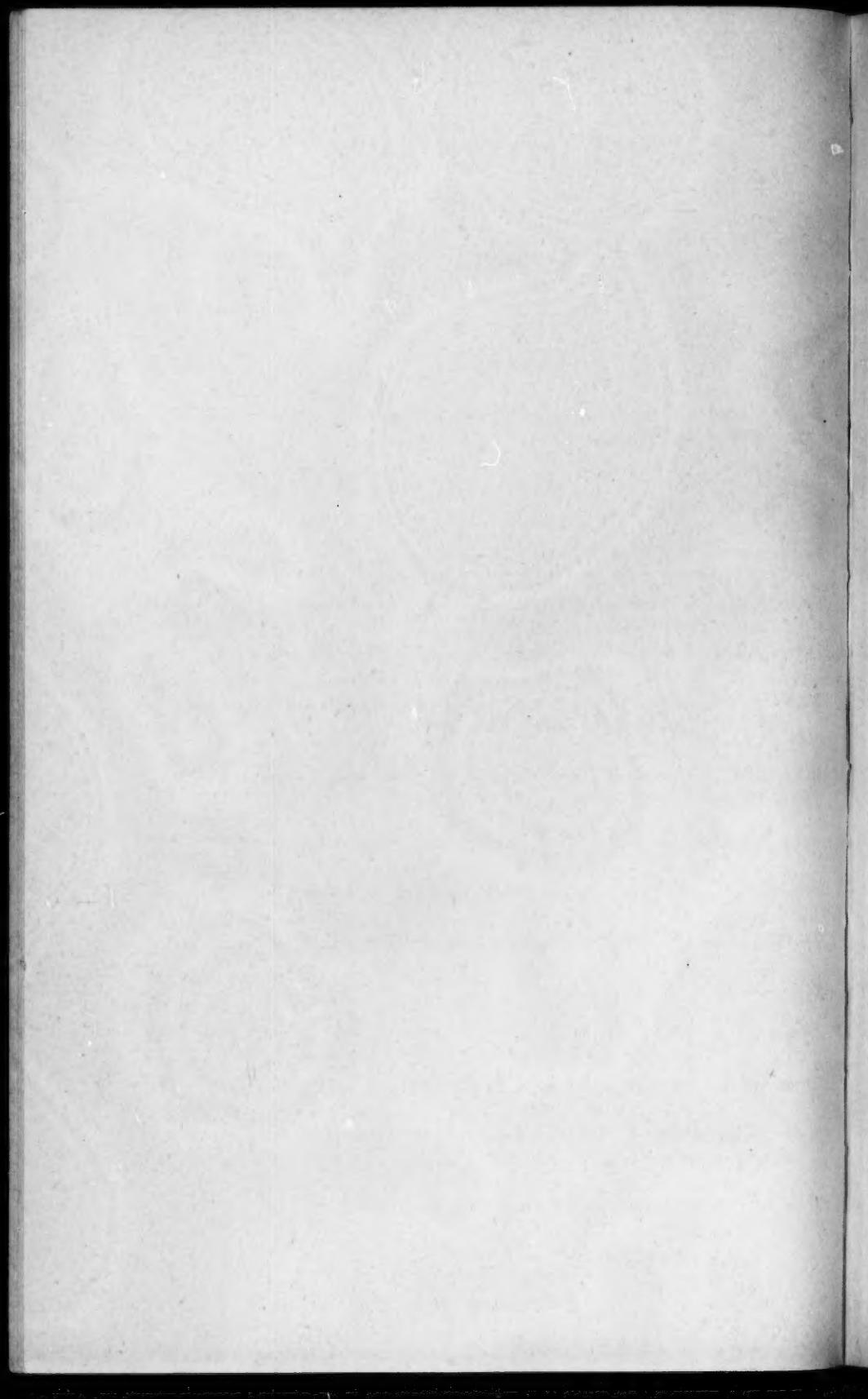
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SPONTANEITY THEORY OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT

J. L. MORENO AND FLORENCE B. MORENO

Psychodramatic Institute, Beacon, New York

"The sense for spontaneity, as a cerebral function, shows a more rudimentary development than any other important, fundamental function of the central nervous system. This may explain the astonishing inferiority of men when confronted with surprise tactics. The study of surprise tactics in the laboratory shows the flexibility or the rigidity of individuals when faced with unexpected incidents. Taken by surprise, people act frightened or stunned. They produce false responses or none at all. It seems that there is nothing for which human beings are more ill-prepared and the human brain more ill-equipped than for surprise. The normal brain responds confusedly, but psychological tests of surprise have found that fatigued, nerve racked and machine-ridden people are still more inadequate—they have no response ready nor any organized, intelligent reaction to offer to sudden blows which seem to come from nowhere. . . . When compared with many other mental functions such as intelligence and memory, the sense for spontaneity is seen to be far less developed. This may perhaps be so because, in the civilization of conserves which we have developed, spontaneity is far less used and trained than, for instance, intelligence and memory."

The Theatre for Spontaneity, (1923) translated and revised, The Philosophy of the Moment, Sociometry, Volume 4, Number 2, 1941.

" . . . Conscious evolution through training of spontaneity opens a new vista for the development of the human race." *Who Shall Survive?, 1934.*

INTRODUCTION

The theoretical structure of every empirical science needs from time to time a thorough overhauling. New findings, and perhaps, still more than this, new dimensions of investigation require and demand new supporting hypotheses. A theory of personality, for instance, is needed, especially a theory of child development, which is in better accord with the dimensions of study in which an increasingly large number of child psychologists, social psychologists, analysts, and therapists are engaged. They still carry on with antiquated concepts which do not quite meet new situations. The theories of child development, as evolved by behaviorism, the Gestalt School, and psychoanalysis have lost their magnetism in some quarters, probably because they have lost their usefulness in empirical and

experimental study. The appeal of concepts such as spontaneity, warming-up process, spontaneity training, auxiliary ego, rôle-playing, and tele (mental distance-receptors) is growing in momentum.

The emphasis has been, in the past, on describing the baby as an individual organism, showing how he develops from a psychologically undifferentiated to a more and more differentiated personality. It proceeded after the model of the biologist who, too, was primarily interested in the gradual differentiation of the physical aspect of the organism. From this point of view, there is no difference between behavioristic terms, Gestalt terms, and psychoanalytic terms of analysis, however great the contrasts between these three ideologies are otherwise.

The psychological study of the newborn has been pursued largely in two dimensions—the one dimension is that of animal psychology, which studies the behavior of the young animal and compares it with human infants. Illustrations are Pavlov's experiments with dogs and the maze experiments with rats. We appreciate the value of this research trend, but consider it one-sided. It is an outgrowth of the theory of evolution, trying to find, parallel to the biological links between subhuman and human, the psychological intermediary stages between subhuman and human organisms.

The second dimension is the interpretation of the infant, largely in terms derived from the mental syndromes of the neurotic adult. The best illustration is the psychoanalytic theory, which traces personality disorganization and sexual abnormalities to the oral and anal strivings of the infant.

There is a third dimension of infant research which has been grossly neglected. Instead of looking at the infant from the lower organisms up, trying to interpret him as a little animal, in animal-psychological terms, and instead of trying to interpret him as a little neurotic or young savage, from the neurotic angle, it is of relevance to look at the human infant systematically from the platform of the highest concrete examples of human embodiment and achievement—we mean here, literally, the geniuses of the race,—and to interpret him as a potential genius. We assume here that, in the geniuses of the race, certain dormant capabilities and basic skills, common to all men, come to their most dramatic expression. They have an intensity which is more difficult to trace in the average individual. Their natural and continuous spontaneity and creativity, not only in rare moments but as a daily expression, give us clues for understanding the infant which cannot be dismissed, unless we consider all genial performers of the human

race as *freaks*. What is at the core of their passionate existence must be the most positive, the most substantial thing which is dormant in every infant. It is distorted in the course of his existence and we might lose sight of it because of one-sided interpretations. In this paper and in similar researches which we have published, spontaneity and creativity are regarded as *primary* and *positive* phenomena and not as derivatives of libido or any other animal drive. From the way in which men of genius warm up with their whole organism in status nascendi to creative deeds and works, we can get the clues of how every infant, in miniature, warms up and maintains itself from the moment of birth on.

There is still another aspect neglected in describing the development of the human infant—that of probing more deeply into such generalized terms as environment, situation or field. There is often the failure to include the deeper issues underlying these terms. For instance, the most important part, within environment or fields, are the interacting individual organisms. It is important to know *how* these individual organisms interact and particularly how the human infant interacts with other individual organisms. It is the emphasis upon and study of these deeper questions of child development which spontaneity and sociometric theories have brought to the fore and attempted to solve.

THE SITUATION AT BIRTH AS A PRIMARY PHASE IN THE WARMING-UP PROCESS TO SPONTANEOUS STATES

Situation at birth. In order to understand the rôle of spontaneity in the situation at birth, we must analyze the organism which may call for its aid. By an accident of nature, it seems the human infant is born *nine* months after conception. He might have been born many months later, and the newborn might have sprung off nearly ready to take care of himself, as nearly ready as some of the newborns among other vertebrates. As it is, he is stepping into a complicated and dangerous world long before his organism is ready to meet its emergencies, and therefore, the amount of help which he needs in order to survive has to be very much greater and more prolonged than any other infant of the primate class.

One part of his organism inadequately developed is the brain. The condition of the brain the first few weeks after birth, is in a state of revolution. Brain centers are not yet developed. The newborn's fore-brain is incomplete. Brain circulation is not yet well established. The capillary system is inadequate. Speech centers and muscular coördination for walk-

ing are not developed. Even sucking, swallowing, crying, breathing, and eliminating are not yet well established immediately after birth. These factors are partly responsible for the high mortality rate during the first few months of extra-uterine life. The situation of an infant at birth makes it almost a miracle that he is born alive. He moves from a closed compartment into an open unlimited space. He moves from eternal darkness into a lighted and multi-colored environment. He moves into a sphere of vision and sound. He changes from limited positions into a milieu in which locomotion and direction is indispensable. He changes from a parasitic existence, being nourished via the mother's placenta, into an existence in which his own activity is indispensable in food taking and elimination. He changes from a state of constant sleep into a state of gradual awakening and awareness of the world around him. He changes from a situation which provides him with a safe equilibrium to a world which is to be conquered if he is to survive in it, and in which he has to gradually develop an equilibrium of his own. He moves into this world with such a suddenness, that his successful adjustment is one of life's great riddles. Within a few minutes, he practically changes from one world to another.

The infant is moving, at birth, into a totally strange set of relationships. He has no model after which he can shape his acts. He is facing, more than at any time during his subsequent life, a novel situation. We have called this response of an individual to a new situation—and the new response to an old situation—*spontaneity*. If the infant is to live, this response must be positive and unfaltering. It must be ready, on the spur of the moment. This response may be *more or less* adequate. There must be a certain amount of this s(*spontaneity*) factor at least in crucial moments available. A minimum of spontaneity is already required in his first day of life.

The physical growth of the embryo's organism and its anatomical readiness for the plunge in the last month of pregnancy cannot be considered a sufficient explanation for being born alive and living abundantly thereafter. There must be a factor with which Nature has graciously provided the newcomer, so that he can land safely and anchor himself, at least provisionally on an uncharted universe. This factor is more than and different from the given energy conserved in the young body of the newborn. It is a factor which enables him to reach beyond himself, to enter new situations as if carrying the organism, stimulating, and arousing all its organs

to modify their structures in order that they can meet their new responsibilities. To this factor, we apply the term spontaneity (*s* factor).

It is secondary for the purpose of this study whether there will be found special types of genes which are responsible for the development of the *s* factors, or whether the *s* is a factor operating independently from the genes. But we favor the hypothesis that the *s* factor is neither strictly a hereditary factor nor strictly an environmental factor. It seems to be more stimulating to the present state of biogenetic and social research to assume that there is within the range of individual expression an independent area *between* heredity and environment, influenced but not determined by hereditary (genes) and social forces (tele). The *s* factor would have in this area its topographical location. It is an area of relative freedom and independence from biological and social determinants, an area in which new combinatory acts and permutations, choices and decisions are formed, and from which human inventiveness and creativity emerges. Certain uncomfortable but perennial inconsistencies and unpredictabilities in physical as well as in mental phenomena would find an explanation in the operation of the *s* factor.¹ The rise of the *s* factor pre-

¹The tele factor is what is measured by sociometric tests. The *s* factor is what is measured by spontaneity tests. The *s* factor encourages new combinations *beyond* what genes actually determine. The number of these combinations is practically unlimited. The tele factor is found to operate in every social structure, but it is influenced by the *s* factor to increase or decrease its range above or below a certain level. That is, the choice process of an individual can expand or decrease depending upon the *s* factor. According to our hypothesis, the majority of physical and mental characteristics are gene determined, but there are combinations possible between them and the social forces (tele) whose emergence is attributed to the *s* factor. According to this hypothesis identical twins brought up in an ideally supervised environment, being exposed to the same situations in the same sequence, would still *differ* from time to time in certain combinations. These deviations from the combined effect of hereditary and social forces would be attributable to the pure *s* factor.

It is not expected from the hereditary units (genes) to determine the relations *between* organisms. The area between organisms is controlled by the tele factor. It is also not expected from the hereditary units to be responsible for all the possible responses necessary in the adaptation of the organisms to novel situations within the internal or external environment. The area ranging between hereditary influences and tele operations is dominated by the *s* factor. The *s* factor is thus the soil out of which later the spontaneous, creative matrix of personality grows. (See "Mental Catharsis and the Psychodrama," *Sociometry*, vol. 3, no. 3, 1940, pp. 218-220.) P

supposes that the functions of memory and intelligence as specialized centers of the cerebral cortex are in formation and with this its own differentiation from them as a special function. Although single and multiple areas of the spontaneity function in the cortex are as yet unexplored and even hardly a conscious problem to the brain pathologist, the fact that this s factor can be demonstrated and isolated in action and in behavior tests of children, indicates that a somatic counterpart exists. The great plasticity of the infantile brain suggests that it is well disposed to favorable interaction with s factors. The high sensitivity of the brain tissue for s factor or—symbolically speaking—the original spontaneity of the brain tissue may be the reason why the later and gradual specialization of the brain into centers and functions is never rigid and absolute. Some degree of spontaneity of the brain tissue remains which serves in emergencies as a last resort to the nervously afflicted. It may be of value to review the brain development from the point of view of spontaneity theory, and to estimate the comparative degree of spontaneity which every part of the brain retains.

Warming-up process to a new setting. The first basic manifestation of spontaneity is the *warming up* of the infant to the new setting. The warming-up process is a phenomenon which can be measured. Its expansion depends upon the kind and degree of novelty to be met.

We can illustrate this warming-up process by indicating certain features the psychodramatic situation possesses which are comparable to the situation at birth. In the case of adults it is so constructed that the spontaneity of the individual can be tested. The subject is thrown abruptly into a situation which is novel to him and to which he has to warm up in order to make a rapid adjustment. The subject is often ordered to warm up *as if he*

(personality) can be defined as a function of *g* (genes), *s* (spontaneity), *t* (tele), and *e* (environment).

"... for two structurally identical persons, there is still an element of choice and decision which can operate to determine conduct and behavior manifestations, particularly when there is little or no neurotic or psychotic involvement. This element of choice may be set down as a non-hereditary factor if you will, but it need not *ipso facto* be attributed to the environment. It is something that comes from within the individual, and as such may be influenced equally by whatever goes to shape that individual within himself. Consistency need no more be a characteristic of intra-twin mates at a given moment—howsoever identical—than of a single individual at different moments. A one-hundred percent predictability of behavior is not a legitimate expectation for either." Gladys C. Schwesinger, *The Journal of Heredity*, Volume 33, Number 1, January 1942.

would not have any mental starters at his disposal (corresponding to the infant at birth who is void of mental starters). The subject may move around or begin to breathe heavily, make grimaces, clench his fists, move his lips, shout or cry—that is, he will use physical starters in order to get started, trusting that the neuro-muscular or other physical activities will eventually clinch and release more highly organized forms of expression such as rôle-taking and creative inspiration, bringing him to the maximum degree of warming up to a spontaneous act in the meeting of a novel situation.

The physical self-starters, as it has been observed in spontaneous experiments with adults, work by conscious provocation of a simple act which, if properly aroused, begins, by its own momentum, to be followed up by other involuntary and voluntary actions; for instance, the tempo of breathing increases two to three times beyond the original voluntary step. The pulse count goes from seventy up to a hundred and twenty or more. These involuntary phases in the warming-up process (provoked by an initial conscious step) often associate simultaneously other involuntary activities in which the neuro-muscular systems play a leading rôle, such as, perspiration, movements of arms and legs, breathlessness, loss of balance, facial expressions of panic and anxiety, and gutteral inarticulate sounds and words. Aimed social actions may further advance the warming-up process into the realm of inter-personal relations.

In the psychodramatic situation, furthermore, the whole world into which the actor enters—the plots, the persons, the objects in it, in all its dimensions, and its time and space—are novel to him. Every step he makes forward in this world on the stage has to be defined anew. Every word he speaks is defined by the word which is spoken towards him. Every movement he makes is defined, aroused and shaped by the persons and objects he encounters. Every step he makes is determined by the steps of others towards him. But their steps, too, are, at least, in part, determined by his own steps.

We know from the study of the warming-up process in adult performance and inter-personal relations that categories of self-starters can be differentiated, that is, physical starters and mental starters. The differentiation into two separate ways of starting is not yet available to the infant. There appears to be very little mental activity in the new-born's starting. We can well assume therefore that he makes use only of physical starters. The physical starters continue to be the rescue-starters in all warming-up processes throughout the life span. The adult resorts to them, especially in emer-

gencies or when taken by surprise. As in the case of the infant, he can be so absorbed in his warming up to a spontaneous act that he can be manifestly at least, void of mental images. Unlike the infant, the adult has, of course, developed mental, social, and psychochemical starters, which independently may initiate his warming up as well as interact with physical starters.

In some of the experiments made with adults using physical starters as a means of warming up—many subjects failed to reach the level of *mentation*. They stopped abruptly in the middle of the act and gave up. It was apparent, then, that the warming-up process does not have to reach the level of mentation but can *terminate* at any point in the process below this level. This may be the infant's way of warming up. He uses physical starters, the act is terminated more or less below the level of mentation and provoked by physical stimuli.

In the birth situation, the physical starters are stirred up long before the act of birth takes place. The "to-be-born" embryo is using his own physical starters, his head or feet, to push against the muscular walls of the womb in order to gain momentum gradually. When he comes to numerous dead ends, he is rescued and aided from time to time by the mother's own physical starters, voluntary action and involuntary muscular contractions, as a process in warming herself up to an act of expulsion. The moment of birth is the maximum degree of warming up to the spontaneous act of being born into a new setting, to which he must make a rapid adjustment. It is not a trauma, but the end stage of an act for which nine months of preparation were required. The infant is the actor. He has to act in rôles without having an ego or personality to act with. Like the impromptu actor, every step he makes in the world is new. He has to act quickly on the spur of the moment—that moment when a new breathing apparatus is put into function, or that moment when he must, for the first time, suck fluid from the breast or bottle.

As we have pointed out, the infant binds its spontaneous energy to the new milieu, via the *physical starters* of the warming-up process. As we know, it would not be successful in this effort, if the *mental starters* of auxiliary egos—mothers, midwives, and nurses—in this milieu would not come to his rescue, i.e., by caring for and feeding him. Of course, the warming up to the act of birth has been a perpetual drive to the infant for such a long period that any *delay* on the part of these auxiliary egos once the machinery of delivery is in process cannot but stimulate the self-starting of the infant. If this

delay surpasses a certain point, this effort exhausts the infant and, as the mother becomes exhausted, an advantage is turned into a calamity.

We know, then, that the infant is capable of self-starting to some extent both in his effort to be born and in his life-rôles thereafter (eater, eliminator, etc.). But the degrees of spontaneous readiness in getting started differ from one infant to another. Certain infants may have difficulties in being born, while others are born with very little effort. Some infants need some support in pushing themselves through the birth canal, some infants need instrumental assistance, or surgical treatment endangering not only their own lives but those of others. Some infants have difficulties in starting to breathe, they lag in the physical starting of the final rhythmic breathing act.²

Even the start of sucking for many infants is not as adequate as is generally assumed. Some infants do not get started until the nipple is pressed upon their lips, or the warm liquid enters their mouths. The degree of spontaneous readiness in sucking ranges from the over-eager self-

²"In a philosophy of the Moment there are three factors to be emphasized: the locus, the status nascendi, and the matrix. These represent three views of the same process. There is no 'thing' without its locus, no locus without its status nascendi, and no status nascendi without its matrix. The locus of a flower, for instance, is in the bed where it is growing. Its status nascendi is that of a growing thing as it springs from the seed. Its matrix is the fertile seed, itself. Every human act or performance has a primary action-pattern—a status nascendi. An example is the performance of eating which begins to develop the role of the eater in every infant soon after birth. The pattern of gestures and movements leading up to the state of satiation is, in this instance, the warming-up process." See Moreno, J. L., "Foundations of Sociometry", *Sociometry*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1941. These principles can be applied to the origin of the human organism. The locus nascendi is the placenta in the mother's womb; the status nascendi is the time of conception. The matrix nascendi is the fertilized egg from which the embryo develops. The initial phase of a living process has been greatly neglected as compared with more advanced phases and the terminal phase. It has been a chief contribution of spontaneity and creativity research that the conception process of, for instance, the Ninth Symphony of Beethoven is of, at least equal, if not greater, importance than the "birth" of the work. When dealing with a living organism, we are turning our attention from the level at birth back to the level of conception itself. Methods for the *direct* study of the embryo in its intrauterine environment are coming nearer to the orbit of technical fulfillment. Motion pictures of embryonic life throughout the nine months of pregnancy are necessary in order that we may get a view of his responses from stage to stage. It may be that some technical apparatus will be forthcoming in the form of a type of *moving X-ray pictures* combining the techniques of the moving picture with those of X-ray photography.

starting infant to the uninterested infant in which case a great deal of manipulation is required to stimulate the rhythm of sucking.

The warming-up process is, therefore, a concrete, tangible, and measurable indication that the s factors are operating. It is from the analysis and measurement of the warming-up process that we can determine the presence and the action range of the s factors. If there is no sign of warming up, we conclude an absence or loss of spontaneity. If there is some degree of warming up detectable in one sector of an area, then we conclude that a corresponding degree of spontaneity is operating in this sector. It does not indicate, however, that s factors operate in other sectors of a given area, or in other areas, as long as no signs of a warming-up process are manifest there. An optimum or a maximum degree of warming up would indicate that s factors operate in a given area in an optimum or maximum degree. An over-heated warming-up process would indicate that a surplus of s factors are operating in a given area—that is, beyond what is required for an equilibrated act.

The warming-up process manifests itself in every expression of the living organism *as it strives towards an act*. It has a somatic expression, a psychological expression, and a social expression. The varieties of its expression depend upon the differentiation of the organism and the environment in which it exists. The somatic expression of the warming-up process is specialized around many *focal* areas (zones), which serve as physical starters to warming up.

THE FUNCTION OF THE WARMING-UP PROCESS AND THE MATRIX OF IDENTITY

Zones as loci nascendi³ for the Warming-up

Process. It is paradoxical that the infant has at birth an organism whose anatomic and physiological unity is never greater. But he has no world of his own within which to operate. He is an actor—without words and almost without a cerebral cortex. He is compelled to form his world on the basis of small and weakly related zones, scattered unevenly over the body.

³"I have observed, experimenting with numerous patients and non-patients, that every warming up process which covers a small range of the personality can be absorbed and for the time being undone by any warming up process which has a wider range but which includes these parts at the same time. I have seen this mechanism at work so often that I feel justified to consider it as a practical rule. It is on the basis of this

These zones can be divided into operational zones and non-operational zones. One can devise a scale, placing at one end of the scale, the body zones which have the highest operational intensity and frequency of function, and on the other end of the scale, a near neutral intensity and near zero frequency of function. These zones—the visual zone, the nasal zone, the mouth zone, etc.,—are already in formation during the first week of the infant's life. The significance of every zone is that it is formed in behalf of an indispensable function of the infant, and therefore arouses the infant to concentrate upon the acting out of this function. Any time an object comes near the visual zone, a warming-up process takes place in which the neuro-muscular system of the zone plays a leading rôle. In the mouth zone, for instance, the intake of nourishment is associated with the imbibing of the foods which require the participation of the neuro-muscular tissues of lips and inner mouth. A different set of muscles is activated around the anal zone in warming up to the act of elimination.

Each warming-up process has a focus. It tends to be localized in a zone as its *locus nascendi*. However, the first sensitized areas—sensitized by these acts of warming-up—are not literally attached to the skin of the infant. There is no mouth zone, anal zone, actually, but zones of which the mouth or the anus are a part. The zone is, in this "sociometric" sense, an area to which, for example, the mouth, the nipple of the mother's breast, the milk fluid, and the air between them are contributing factors. Whenever these components come to a focus, the zone emerges into action.

Every zone is the focal point of a physical starter in the process of warming up to a spontaneous actuality state—such state or states being components in the shaping of a "rôle." Every zone is formed in behalf of an indispensable function of the infant. At times, it becomes the source of a starter—physical or mental—in the process of warming up to a spontaneous actuality state. In addition to being a zone, related to a given organism, it becomes the *locus nascendi* of starters warming up towards objects and persons. It becomes the focal point of the spontaneous act itself. On the physical level, one zone is never entirely separated from every other zone; it involves at the time of functioning, to some extent, the whole organism. But we are dealing here with a construction of the experiential actualities of the

observation that a significant therapeutic technique developed. See Moreno, J. L. "Interpersonal Therapy and the Psychopathology of Interpersonal Relations," *Sociometry*, vol. I, Part 1, 1937.

infant and not with his physical set-up; the warming-up process with a physical set of starters of a particular zone has the tendency to separate and isolate that zone on the actuality level *more* than the physical situation would indicate. In the act of taking nourishment, for instance, the mouth becomes the focal point for a specific warming-up process on the experiential actuality level, even though hunger pangs and contractions in the stomach involve indirectly the entire organism. This focal point of interest appears to make the infant more remote as to what is happening to another zone of his body than he would be in a period of inaction of that zone. Focusing, therefore, on a specific warming-up process increases attention upon the immediate act, and thus a tendency towards increased specialization of numerous tracks for the corresponding warming-up process is encouraged.

The various zones develop gradually various relationships on the actuality level. Certain zones tend toward co-action and coöperation, as the mouth zone with the throat zone, the bladder zone with the anal zone, the visual zone with the hearing zone, etc. Certain zones tend to exclude one another—as the manual zone and the throat zone, the bladder zone and visual zone. Some zones tend to remain neutral. As the infant grows in structure, the experiential actuality level becomes more complex. Certain zones, which have been comparatively separatists, begin to interact more, and turn out a chain of zones or bodily segments. Accordingly, on the experiential actuality level, the particular warming-up processes will interact, and the result will be that one set of physical starters, let us say that of the oral zone, will gradually arouse the throat zone and the anal zone and lead to a sort of counterpart of the bodily segmentation—a segmentation on the actuality level. Therefore, the organism of the infant which consisted originally of so and so many separated segments superimposed upon the various zones of the organism, will begin to merge them into large areas of the body. The larger the area of the body which the warming up takes into its strides, the larger the number of neuro-muscular units stimulated. The infant will begin to be identical with a large area of the body at one time, with another large area of the body at another time—not knowing that they actually belong together, and yet far from discovering that some day he will be labeled their individual owner.

The Auxiliary ego as a part of the infant's warming-up process and rôle-playing. Just as some infant needs a helper to be born, he also needs aides in order to eat, sleep, or move around in space. From the point of

view of the child, these helpers appear like extensions of his own body, as he is too weak and immature to produce these actions by his own effort. They have to be provided for him by the outside world—mother, father, or nurse. We have called an extension of one's ego, which is necessary for his adequate living performance and which has to be provided for him by a substitute person, an auxiliary ego.

The function of the auxiliary ego has been found indispensable in the experimental setting of the psychodrama as a concept for the understanding of the interpersonal process on the stage as well as a tool for treatment. The auxiliary ego has, in the psychodramatic situation, two functions—that of portraying rôles and that of guidance. The first function is that of portraying a rôle of a person *required* by the subject; the second function is that of guiding the subject by warming up to his anxieties, shortcomings, and needs in order to guide him towards a better solution of his problems. The natural setting of the mother-child relationship is comparable to the auxiliary ego-subject relation of the psychodramatic situation. The mother, also, has two functions; the one is that of acting in the rôle of a mother adequately; the other one is that of developing a clear picture of the needs and rhythm of the infant in order that she can warm up to his requirements to help him function adequately.

It will be seen that, by means of the concept of the auxiliary ego, many heretofore unrelated phenomena in child development which had to be explained by various theories, can be explained by a single hypothesis which is able to bring all developmental data into a unified view. This single hypothesis is based on the fact that the mother-child relationship is a two-way relation involving coöperative action rather than individual behavior patterns separated from each other.

Rôle of the eater. It is usually considered as one act if two parts of the body operate jointly in its performance, as, for instance, the two feet in walking, the two eyes in seeing, or the right and left arm in holding and clinging. However, some process of adjustment is necessary until such performance becomes smooth. In holding something with both hands, for instance, the warming-up process in which the left hand is involved may not harmonize at all times with the warming-up process in which the right hand is involved. In essence, the fact that one tool, as for instance, the mother's breast or the bottle, is not immediately attached to the organism of the infant, does not produce a different situation. The problem of

inter-adjustment between organic and extra-organic tools is not of a different order than the problem of inter-adjustment between one organic tool and another within the same organism. The difficulty sets in only because these tools belong to two different persons, in this case, to the child and the mother. These tools arouse in both of them cross-psychological conditions of a different nature and require them to merge into a single flow of action, each with his own starting point. Each in the warming-up process to the act of eating puts a different set of bodily starters into motion—for instance the mother, her breasts and arms, holding the nipple of her breasts tight upon the child's lips, or if it is a milk bottle, bent to a similar angle, and the child hypnotically attracted to food, sucking the fluid with his mouth. In the course of the two-way warming up, with one aim—the satisfaction of the child's hunger, the physical adjustment efforts go hand in hand with mental adjustment efforts. The mother (auxiliary ego) produces a mental picture of her child, when in the process of rôle-taking, but, in reverse, the child also participates in being given food (bottle or breast, hands of the mother, etc.) as well as taking it into his mouth. The mental picture which the mother has of the child is a consummate of auxiliary images. These images are often aroused by sensations of fear that the child is not sufficiently fed and the mother will be induced by them to increase the tempo of feeding beyond the needs of the infant. Vice versa, the infant may refuse the tempo below his own need-level, and thus various forms of maladjustment occur which distort the performance of learning how to eat.

Differing from the organs (hands, tongue, etc.) which are fixed to his body, and which are at his immediate disposal in an emergency, the mother with all her auxiliary ego tools is fully detached and independent from him. She moves away from him, abandoning him, but returns to him when his anxiety is manifest. It is a peculiar shock in the experience of the growing infant to discover the difference between attached and detached tools. The "I" and "you" have not yet emerged. He experiences tools which are attached to him and tools which are detached, but he is not yet aware of the difference between these two types of tools since he is not aware that some of these tools belong to other individuals just as he is not aware that some of them are his *own* tools. In other words, the tools attached to his mother, and the tools attached to himself are all in the feeding act and remain so even when the mother's tools (breast or bottle, hands, etc.) are moved away from him *after* the feeding act. For that matter, in the first days of life, the infant experiences all objects and persons as co-existent

with him, belonging to him, or himself as being co-existent with them or belonging to them.

Just as the mother experiences the infant's side of the warming-up chain, the child participates still more deeply, because of his greater receptivity and suggestibility, not only his side as the food receiver, but also the mother's side of it; that is, the infant experiences the bottle or the breast coming towards him, the nipple touching his lips, the receiving of this nipple and the imbibing of the food as *one act*. In order to give still further emphasis to this co-action and co-being, we give the illustration of the infant so absorbed in his sucking, that he cannot be diverted from this act by even so disturbing an act as tickling his foot. Although we observe a flexible withdrawal of the foot, there is no change in his focus upon the feeding act, no slowing up, no change in his visual attention; no sign of any change can be noticed in his original action. One activity at a time excludes every other activity; one focus every other focus. He warms up exclusively to immediate situations. He lives in immediate time.

This co-being, co-action, and co-experience, which, in the primary phase, exemplify the infant's relationship to the persons and things around him, are characteristics of the *matrix of identity*. This matrix of identity lays the foundation for the first emotional learning process of the infant.

Once the matrix of identity is established, and the complex of images closely associated with his intense participation in the "oneness" of the act is in ready form in the child, the foundation is laid for "future" combinatory acts. Since the action of the mother is an extension of *his* action, he can afford in the course of time to leave out a part of it—his own end, and to concentrate on the mother's part—the other end of the matrix. By this transaction, he may lay the ground for the future reversal of the warming-up chain. Playing the rôle of the "other" does not appear suddenly and full-grown to the infant, but goes through several stages of development which overlap and often work hand in hand.

The first stage is that of the other person being a part of the infant in all earnestness—that is, complete spontaneous all-identity.

The second stage is that of the infant centering attention upon the other stranger part of him.

The third stage is that of the infant lifting the other part from the continuity of experience and leaving all other parts out, including himself.

The fourth stage is that of the infant placing himself actively in the other part and acting its rôle.

The fifth stage is that of the infant acting in the rôle of the other

towards someone else, who in turn acts in his rôle. With this stage, the act of reversal of identity is complete.

These five stages represent the psychological bases for all rôle processes and for such phenomena as imitation, identification, projection and transference. Certainly the two final acts of reversal do not occur in the first few months of the infant's life. But, some day the infant will reverse the picture by taking the rôle of the one who gives food, of the one who puts asleep, of the one who carries him and moves him around. We have, then, two phases of the matrix of identity: first, the phase of identity or unity as in the eating act, and, second, the phase of using that experience in the reversing of identity.

Within the fold of identity, the process of infantile rôle-taking⁴ occurs. Infantile rôle-taking consists of two functions—rôle-giving (giver) and rôle-receiving (receiver). In the feeding situation, for example, the rôle-giving (giver) is acted out by the auxiliary ego (mother), and the rôle-receiving is acted out by the infant in receiving nourishment. The mother, in giving food, warms up towards the infant to acts of a certain inner consistency. The infant, on the other hand, in receiving food warms up to a chain of acts which, also, develop some degree of inner consistency. The result of this interaction is that a certain reciprocal rôle-expectancy is gradually established in the partners of the rôle-process. This rôle-expectancy lays the ground for all future rôle exchange between the infant and auxiliary egos.

The image-building and co-action process in the rôle-taking of the eater gives us a key for understanding the underlying causes in the process of emotional learning ascribed by some to imitation. The concept of imitation is often expressed as a one-way relation or one-way rôle relation. It refers to the child imitating the mother, the way he eats and copies her behavior. The same is true of projection as regards the leaving out of the processes of the other person interacting with the child. Projection is often referred to when the child assumes that an animal or doll has similar ^{experience} to his own. It certainly is without meaning in the primary behavior of the

"Every role is a fusion of private and collective elements. . . . A role is composed of two parts—its collective denominator and its individual differential. It may be useful to differentiate between *role-taking*—which is the taking of a finished, fully established role which does not permit the individual any variation, any degree of freedom—*role-playing*—which permits the individual some degree of freedom—and *role-creating*—which permits the individual a high degree of freedom, as for instance, the *spontaneous player*." See Moreno, J. L., "Sociodrama", *Psychodrama Monograph*, No. 1, 1944.

infant. The idea of projection implies that a human being, an animal, or an object are independent and apart from the person projecting. Projection behavior of this kind is impossible for a being who lives within *one* sphere, however uneven and unstable that one sphere may be within itself. Projection can also mean localizing a stimulus at its assumed origin, for instance, pain in the stomach. But the projector and the locus of projection are parts of the same act of warming up and are not yet separated by the infant.

Likewise, identification is without meaning in the first world of the infant. It implies two separated egos, whose existence is definitely established; otherwise, the desire for finding himself identical with other persons outside of him and the fulfillment of identification cannot take place. It implies that the infant is capable of experiencing himself as an ego in relation to another. It implies, further, that the infant is able to recognize portions of his ego as being different from portions of the other ego, or portions of his ego which are similar to that of the other ego. Identification is not given, but is the result of a striving beyond or away from what one is. Obviously the infant is unable to experience such a complicated process. We question, therefore, that primary infantile learning is based on operations such as projection, imitation and identification. The hypothesis of the matrix of identity permits a more plausible explanation of the earliest forms of learning.

The growth of the reversal strategy of the child is an indicator of the freedom from the auxiliary ego, the mother or the mother-substitute. It signifies the first step in the liberation of the child from dependents, if not in fact, at least in its imagery. It gives reinforcement too in the imagery of being grown up some day and doing everything for himself without the aid of an auxiliary ego. The initial phase of co-experience and collaboration with the stronger ego, provides the child with an incentive for independent action.

As the infant matures, although still within the matrix of identity or unified experience, the amount of assistance which the auxiliary ego has to render to the infant becomes less and less, and the amount of activity with which the infant participates becomes larger and larger; in other words, the auxiliary ego (the mother) is an aide in shaping the infant's own rôles, permitting him gradually more independence. This process of intercommunication between infant and mother is the nourishing matrix of the first independent rôle-taking of the infant.

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THE UNIVERSE OF THE INFANT

The matrix of identity is the infant's social placenta, the locus in which he roots. It gives the human infant safety, orientation and guidance. The world around it is called the *first* universe, as it has many characteristics by which it is set apart from the final, the second world. The matrix of identity breaks up gradually as the infant becomes more autonomous—that is, some degree of self-starting develops in one function after the other, such as in feeding, eliminating, reaching, and locomotion; his dependency upon auxiliary egos begins to decrease.⁵ The first universe ends when the infantile experience of a world in which everything is real begins to break up into fantasy and reality. Image-building develops rapidly, and the differentiation between real and imagined things begins to take form.

Long period of infancy—a characteristic of the first universe. The psychoanalytic theory that the intra-uterine existence of the embryo is too short, implying that a longer pregnancy might be more desirable, is a misapprehension. If the pregnancy state of the human infant could be prolonged by an experiment of nature or, by some technological device, be extended from nine months, let us say, to fifteen months, the result might be that the human infant would be born fully developed and would compare much better with the primate and other vertebrate infants. He might arrive quite independent and self-sufficient, but he would have sacrificed the opportunities for which the social placenta prepares him to a prolonged incubation in a narrow rebounding environment. He would have sacrificed the productive culture-bearing association with active and highly organized beings, to a life in isolation; last, but not least, he might have arrived, because of his comparative self-sufficiency, much less in need of help but also less sensitive for the acculturation of the social heritage incorporated in the auxiliary egos of the new environment. Our conclusions therefore, are that any prolongation of the human pregnancy would be a calamity for the infant, that its length seems rather well planned than otherwise, and that the infant is born at a strategic moment for the development of his spontaneous potentialities. If he dares to be born less self-sufficient than other animals, it is that the *s* factors and resourcefulness of the matrix permit him the "jump." Last but not least, the human species is the genius among the primates,—and a prolonged latency period is commonly found with geniuses.

⁵"According to our hypothesis a mental operation like all-identity must have pre-existed in the infant before an operation like identification can take place." See Moreno, J. L., "Sociodrama", *Psychodrama Monograph*, No. 1, 1944.

Infantile amnesia—another characteristic of the first universe. One of the important characteristics of the first universe is the total amnesia which we have for about the first three years of our life. It cannot be satisfactorily explained by the inferior development of the brain; the amnesia continues long after the cerebral cortex is fairly established. It cannot be explained by unconscious mechanisms such as repression, because little is registered which *can* be remembered, and nothing can be repressed which is not remembered.

This amnesia is total and indisputable for the older child or adult, looking back from his stage of development, trying to remember the inner and outer events which have surrounded him during the first three years of life. For the infant and the young child growing up, the situation is somewhat different. Some registration takes place, certainly after the first few months as the infant shows signs of remembering certain persons and objects like the foods and the mother with whom he has been intimately acquainted. But he forgets easily—his remembering has a short span. The amount of registration of acts and events must be, therefore, weak and rare.

Our explanation of amnesia is based upon the warming-up process to a spontaneous act. Hundreds of spontaneity tests with subjects of all ages have demonstrated that in order that the subject may remember at a later date what has taken place during the act, he must register the events as the warming up to the act goes on. A certain part of his ego must set itself aside as a sort of *internal participant observer* and register the events. Only if an event has been registered, can it be remembered, and only if it has been remembered, can it be forgotten. Only events which have been registered or remembered can be repressed. The conclusion is that, in such cases, when nothing is remembered by the subject of acts and events which have taken place in and around him, such an inner participant observer did not develop. It did not establish itself, because every part of the subject of the person was included in the act.

The experience of the infant can be considered as a parallel on a magnified scale of the fully spontaneous subject on the psychodramatic stage. We must assume that the infant warms up to spontaneous acts with such a degree of intensity that every particle of his being participates in it—that not the least fragment in it can be left out for purposes of registration. Where there is no registration, there is no remembering possible. The infant doesn't permit any part of its being to function in any reference except that of the moment—the immediate situation. This undivided

absorption of the infant in the act⁶ to which it is warming up is the basic reason why the two dimensions of time, the dimension of the past and the dimension of the future, are undeveloped, or at best, rudimentary. It is the *past* in which we store our memories, and it is the *future* which may profit from their registration.

Our attempts at measuring the memory span of infants have shown that it *increases* in backward range as well as in clarity as the infant grows older, but the amount of registration and consequent memory fixation is continuously swept away—flooded out by the overwhelming absorption of the infant in the acts in which he is involved at the moment. The infant develops intermittently, so to speak, a *retroactive amnesia* even for the slight amount of registration of acts and events which he has been able to retain. The act-hunger of the infant is so great and so incessant that he uses all his energy up for this and as little as possible, for such an apparently negligible thing as remembering (this remembering is done by the auxiliary ego for him). We must conclude that the recurrent retroactive amnesias of the infant sum up to the *total amnesia effect* which the older child and the adult have for the first three years of their lives. As the structure of time, its past and future dimensions, are so weakly developed in the infant, learning by remembering is not possible. The foundation of his learning process must have a different basis. As we know now, it has a special anchorage—the matrix of identity.

The first great area of human existence stretching over nearly three years of life, seems to belong together like a domain, a world of its own. It has characteristics quite different from the types of experience which the child has after the past and the future begin to take more specific shape, and the breach between fantasy and reality initiates two basically different

"Emphasis upon contents results in the split of the individual into an *act* personality and a *content* personality. We found it a valuable hypothesis to assume that two different memory centers develop, an *act center* and a *content center*, and continue as, in general, separate structures without connection. A content is not received at the same moment when an act arises, but the former in a dull, untoned state and the latter in a highly heated state; they trace in the nervous system different paths. In consequence they do not recur simultaneously, filling one moment, uniting the whole personality with one action, but at different times, separated from each other. The material learned does not reach the act-center of personality. A shut-in memory develops and prevents the integration of the factual knowledge into the active personality of the individual. The knowledge remains undigested, unabsorbed by the personality, and hinders its full influence upon his activity and judgment." See Moreno, J. L., "Who Shall Survive?", 1934, page 329.

trends of warming-up processes. It seems, therefore, a useful theoretical construct to consider the first universe apart as a special *age* of life, such as childhood, adolescence, adulthood, and senescence.

Progression or retardation; trauma or catharsis. The "long" period of infancy has been interpreted by psychoanalysts as a process of retardation and compared with the retardation of the neurotic adult. But it seems to us more plausible to judge that the test of a maturation process lies in its achievement. The early termination of intra-uterine existence can be explained by the superior act-hunger of the human infant and the search for an expanding and more stimulating universe than the intra-uterine milieu provides. Some relative slowness of one function or another, for instance self-feeding, may be a proper sacrifice for more future-bearing lines of development. The long period of dependency of the human infant can be explained by an eager apprenticeship, progressing, maturing, and graduating into a world which is incomparably more complicated than the world into which the primate infant graduates, and for whose successful integration he needs incomparably greater resourcefulness (*s* factor).

Another psychoanalytic concept is that of birth as a trauma from which shock an infant has a hard time to recover. It would be analogous to psychodramatic shock if we could force the infant to stay in the mother or to return to his intra-uterine existence. But the act of birth, for which he and his maternal partner have been preparing themselves for nine months, is the opposite of trauma. It is a deep-reaching catharsis for mother as well as infant. A spontaneity theory of child development evaluates the growth of the infant in positive terms, and in terms of progression, rather than in negative terms and in terms of retardation and regression.

Infantile time and the concept of the moment; infantile space and the emergence of the tele. The subjective concept of adult time has three dimensions—past, present, and future. The infantile time has but one dimension—the present. The infant warms up to immediate situations, if he warms up at all, and to immediate time. This is exemplified in the feeding act. He behaves as if he would suffer from an *act-hunger* syndrome. To his act-hunger corresponds the category of the present,—of the moment.

The dimension of the past develops much later, and it is in conjunction with a past that concepts like cause or unconscious can develop. It is a fallacy to refer to the unconscious as if it would be the substance from which all mental phenomena emerge. For an act-personality, like that of the infant, living predominantly in acts, the concept of the unconscious does not exist.

The psychological space of the infant develops parallel with the telencephalon. Physical distance receptors, such as visual and auditory, enable him to develop the physical contours of space. They by themselves, are unable to develop a relationship between the infant and the persons and things around him as he doesn't experience them as outside or inside of him. They appear as one manifold—the matrix of identity. In the earliest phase of the matrix of identity, nearness and distance are not yet differentiated by the infant. But gradually the sense for nearness and distance develops and the infant begins to be drawn towards persons and objects or to withdraw from them. This is the first social reflex—indicating the emergence of the tele-factor, and is the nucleus of the later attraction-repulsion patterns and specialized emotions—in other words, of the social forces surrounding the later individual. It seems that parallel with the development of physical receptors, visual and auditory, of the infantile cerebral cortex, the tele factor develops stimulated by them, and in turn, stimulates their development. The tele factor must, in its earliest form, be undifferentiated, a matrix or identity tele; gradually, a tele for objects separates itself from a tele for persons. A positive tele separates itself from a negative tele, and a tele for real objects from a tele of imagined objects.

The dreamless state of the infant. Origin of the dream and the unconscious. It appears that the infant goes, in his first universe, through two periods: the first period is the period of all-identity, in which all things, persons, objects, including himself are not differentiated as such but are experienced as one undivided manifold; the second period is the period of differentiated all-identity or of all-reality, in which objects, animals, persons, and finally himself have become differentiated. But there is no difference yet made between real and imagined, between animated and dead, between appearances of things (mirror images) and things as they really are. If this theory is correct, a good argument can be made for the idea that the infant does not dream during this first period. It has been pointed out in our discussion on amnesia that the infant is unable to register or remember events, and this inability is the greater the younger the infant is; that, in itself, would limit the possibility of dreaming to such dreams as are provoked momentarily in the course of sleeping. It would exclude dreams which are provoked by events in the past, however recent those events may be. In other words, the only type of infantile dream which can be theoretically visualized is the one which is immediately provoked by a situation which stimulates or scares the infant on the spur of the moment, without awakening it. There is, how-

ever, another argument which cancels the possibility of even such dreams provoked by immediate situations. All dreams which we have objectified on the psychodramatic stage as well as those analyzed by previous investigators do *not* possess the structure of all-identity experience, in which things, persons, and objects are undifferentiated, but have already the structure of the all-reality experience; that is, in all dreams, things, persons and objects are differentiated, but there is *no* differentiation between real and imagined, between the appearances of things and their reality. This would indicate that dreams, *as we know them*, cannot be produced in the period of all-identity; indeed, the dream phenomenon must have its emergence long after the period of all-reality has started to break up. The beginning of dreaming must be related to a decreasing intensity of the act-hunger of the infant. The dream-hunger of the infant would increase in inverse proportion to the act-hunger of the infant. The dream-hunger will be greatly enhanced when the breach between fantasy and reality is experienced by the child.

This would do away with the idea that infants dream from birth on—that the analysis of dreams can be used as the major route to the understanding of the infantile behavior of the first weeks. Psychoanalytic interpretations based on this premise would not fit into this hypothesis. Freud says in the "Interpretation of Dreams": "What once prevailed in the waking state, when our psychic life was still young and inefficient, seems to have been banished into our nocturnal life. . . . Dreaming is a fragment of the superseded psychic life of the child." He says further: "Dreaming is, on the whole, an act of regression to the earliest relationships of the dreamer, a resuscitation of his childhood, of the impulses which were then dominant and the modes of expression which were then available. Behind this childhood of the individual we are then promised an insight into phylogenetic childhood, into the evolution of the human race, of which the development of the individual is only an abridged repetition influenced by the fortuitous circumstances of life. We begin to suspect that Friedrich Nietzsche was right when he said that in a dream 'there persists a primordial part of humanity which we can no longer reach by a direct path' We are here at the core of one of Freud's most profound inspirations. But granted that the dream is a hangover from early childhood, the generalization he drew from it is probably an error. The dream does not reach endlessly into the past, but it has a beginning, an origin. It originates in a period in which wake existence has a structure similar to

the nocturnal dream. The structure of the wake life of the infant immediately after birth, however, is far more primitive than the structure of the nocturnal dream reveals. We cannot discern in the structure of the matrix of identity—which dominates the wake life of the infant—anything resembling the structure of the nocturnal dream. It is not until the period of all-reality emerges that imageries appear in the *wake* life of the infant which resembles the nocturnal dream structure. The hope of psychoanalysts, therefore, that the dream can be used as the fountainhead of the archaic experiences of mankind may have to be set aside. As long as it is probable that the dream is a comparative late-comer in the development of psychic processes, originating in the period of all-reality, the theory of the unconscious itself loses the main justification of its existence.

Pathological effects of mechanical devices. It is interesting to reflect as to how the industrial revolution affects the first universe and what tricky devices man invents to save his energy even in the process of child bearing and rearing. Certainly the old Faustian dream is far off—that of breeding an embryo in a test tube, freeing the mother from the discomforts of pregnancy and the infant from dependency upon another person, giving him complete autonomy with the aid of a mechanical device.

However, there are actually, on a minor scale, time-saving devices, widely used, which present a problem in the first weeks of the infant's life. The baby is often left alone to suck the milk from the bottle, *without aid*.

As long as the baby was breast fed the mother could not separate herself from her own breast, leave the baby, and do some work by herself. She had to stay in closest proximity to the baby, providing him with food as well as with her person, her mothering, a stimulating and at times, an over-stimulating agent.

The replacement of an auxiliary ego, the mother, by an *auxiliary object*, the bottle, cannot be without serious consequences—at least, in a period during which the emotional foundations of learning are being built. The milk bottle tempts many mothers to reduce their own presence in the act of feeding to a minimum and to fix a device which will propel the bottle automatically into the mouth of the baby until his hunger is satisfied.

The tendency to relieve themselves from a time-consuming task is growing, and the phenomenon should be carefully analyzed as to its pros and cons, before it takes more alarming proportions. Sociometric investigators have pointed out that the organic isolation of the embryo is continued for a short period after birth until the emergence of the tele starts the first interpersonal structures. But some infants perpetuate the pattern

of organic isolation by social isolation. Indeed, a considerable percentage of individuals show the tendency towards being underchosen or isolated in groups throughout their lifetime; the question is whether the auxiliary ego in the form of the mother has not had, since time immemorial, a deeper function to fulfill than just to be the source of the infant's food. Perhaps our less learned but more intuitive ancestors have done better with their infants than we have, at least in this particular phase which we have described above.

We had occasion before this to point out a similar device of saving energy operating later in the life of the child—the time when the doll has such a paramount rôle in the child's world. The doll, because of its intentional semblance to human beings or humanized animals, represents in 'our culture' at least, a significant function of its sociopathology. Beings who can be loved and hated in excess, and who cannot love or fight back, who can be destroyed without murmur, in other words dolls are like individuals who have lost all their spontaneity. This *dead-aliveness* of the doll should become an earnest concern to parents and educators, as we are placing it not into a museum, but into the hands of our children. Dolls become their best comrades, memories to which they return in their adolescent fantasies. Toys such as dolls are inanimate objects and the child can create the rôles of master and slave. The toys cannot fight back if and when the child exerts his physical strength by mishandling or destroying the toy. This is contrary to the very principles of democracy. The function of dolls in the early life of children must undergo a revision. We do not wish to warn against their discrete use. Their reckless application cannot be but harmful. Children get used to 'easy' spontaneity. But the difficulty can be surmounted. Our homes and nursery schools should replace many of their doll equipments by auxiliary egos, real individuals, who take the 'part' of dolls. The individuals portraying doll rôles and fantastic situations are trained to reduce their own and permit the child a greater amount of spontaneity than in real situations, but behind the doll playing subject, there is a real, feeling person. The child will learn by the auxiliary ego technique what he cannot learn by the doll playing technique,—that there are limits to the extremes of love just as well as to the extremes of hate. Leaving the baby alone with the bottle an auxiliary object, is parallel to leaving the child alone with his dolls.

BREACH BETWEEN FANTASY AND REALITY EXPERIENCE

At a certain point in child development, with the beginning of the "second" universe, personality becomes normally divided. Two sets of warming-up process forms, the one towards reality acts and the other towards fantasy acts begin to organize themselves. The more deeply engraved these tracks are, the harder it becomes to shift from one to the other on the spur of the moment. The problem is not that of abandoning the fantasy world in favor of the reality world or vice versa, which is practically impossible, but rather to establish means by which the individual can gain full mastery over the situation, living in both tracks, but being able to shift from one to the other. The factor which can secure this mastery for rapid shifting is spontaneity, but obviously not spontaneity as an instinctive factor of which one happens to have more or less available, but as a conscious and constructive principle in building up personality—spontaneity training. Without the function of spontaneity to facilitate the shift, the warming-up process can produce a mental set in one track to the degree that it hampers or harms the relationship of the individual to real situations and real objects, or to imagined situations and imagined objects (as no individual can live permanently in an entirely real world or in an entirely imagined world.) The reality function operates by interpolations of resistances which are not introduced by the infant, but which are imposed upon him by other persons, their relationships, by things and distances in space, and by acts and distances in time. The fantasy or psychodramatic function is free of these extra-personal resistances, unless he interpolates his own resistance.

The infant begins to develop two emotional tracks in his universe. They may run independently, never to meet again. The infant would live then in two dimensions at the same time, the one real, the other unreal, without being disturbed by the division, or it may be that the two tracks, A and B, may from time to time strive towards a reunion, a re-establishment of the original status. These strivings may bring about collisions between the two tracks, produce blocking and bring the flow of spontaneity to inertia. It is the latter which actually happens to human personality. As long as he lives, he tries to merge the original breach and because he remains, in principle, unsuccessful, the human personality, even in its most integrated examples, has a tragic touch of *relative* imperfection. There is this continuous struggle within the individual trying to maintain a balance between these two different routes into which his spontaneity attempts to flow. He

is like a man who has two saving accounts and deposits in one such things that he would not or cannot deposit in the other. The deeper significance of this struggle comes from the inability of the infant to continue the uniformity of his first universe, where all the warming-up processes in the rôle-taking were centralized and uniform. However enormous his anxieties and insecurities then were, he did have to separate one part of his self from the other. He may have been non-conscious and weak, but he was, at least, united in living in one world and not in two, since, as we discussed before, the young infant had not yet learned to differentiate the two functions, reality and fantasy. The transition from the first to the second universe (that period when he becomes aware of reality and fantasy) brings about a total change in the sociodynamics in the universe of the infant.

Out of the breach between reality and fantasy, two new sets of rôles emerge. As long as this breach did not exist, all real and fantasy components were merged into one set of rôles, *psychosomatic* rôles. An illustration is the rôle of the eater. But from the division of the universe into real and fictitious phenomena gradually a social world and a fantasy world emerge separated from the psychosomatic world in the matrix of identity. Forms of rôle-playing are now emerging which correlate the infant to persons, things, and goals in an actual setting outside of himself, and to persons, objects and goals which he *imagines* are outside of him. They are called respectively *social* rôles as the father and *psychodramatic* rôles as the god.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE S FACTOR

Rich clinical material in psychodramatic sessions has provoked the first formulation of the s factor. Proof of its existence has gained in support from experiments with surprise situations from which factors like intelligence, memory, and conditioning had been eliminated. A number of researches are now in progress which aim at a statistical demonstration of the s factor and at determining the statistical probability of its existence.

The term "factor" is used with some reservation. The term s principle or s unit could have been used as well. But faculty, skill or function would connote too specific a meaning. The first task was to construct methods of measurements which were able to differentiate the s factor from intelligence and memory, for instance. It is probable that intelligence tests measure less than what intelligence pretends to be, according to some definitions which are too inclusive. The s factor cuts into and delimits the meaning of intelligence, which should make both intelligence tests and spontaneity tests more precise tools of measurement. Intelligence tests do not

DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD IMAGE OF THE INFANT
(1) MATRIX OF ALL-IDENTITY

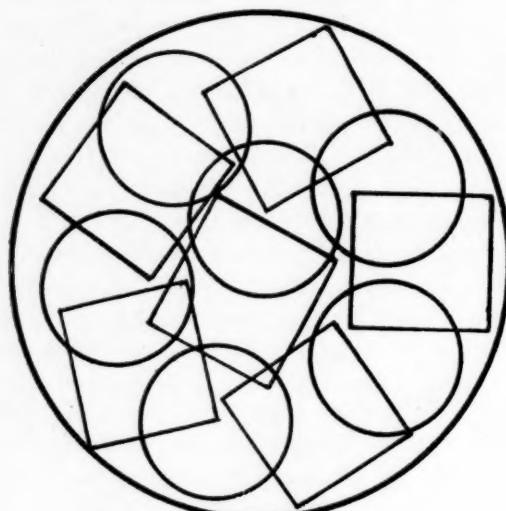


FIGURE 1

The large circle represents the infantile world. The small circles within it represent living organisms as, for instance, individuals or animals. The squares represent objects such as inanimate things—food or mechanical devices, such as the bottle. The circles and squares are overlapping in order to indicate that individuals and objects are not yet experienced as separate units but fused into various configurations as they enter into the action range of the infant. The bottle belongs to the hand which holds it, and both belong to the lips in the act of sucking. The configurations which he experiences are act-determined; that is to say he associates the parts of persons and things moving towards him as belonging to one manifold related to the act at the moment.

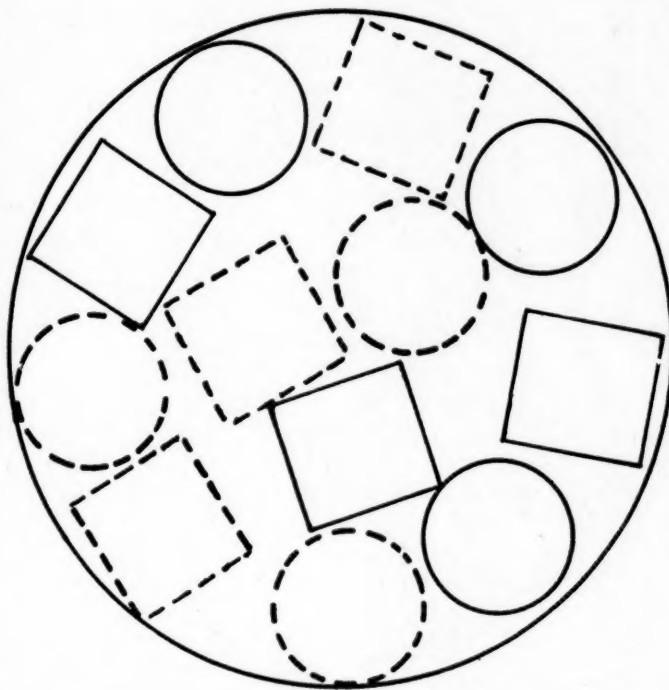
(2) MATRIX OF DIFFERENTIATED ALL-IDENTITY
(OR OF ALL-REALITY)

FIGURE 2

The large circle represents the infantile world. The small circles represent individuals; the squares represent objects. They are drawn apart from one another because they are already differentiated as separately functioning units. But they are all drawn within the large circle, because the infant assigns to them the same degree of reality. Dotted circles represent imagined individuals, and dotted squares represent imagined objects. They are differentiated one from the other, but they are regarded as equally real—as real individuals and real objects.

(3) MATRIX OF THE BREACH BETWEEN FANTASY AND REALITY

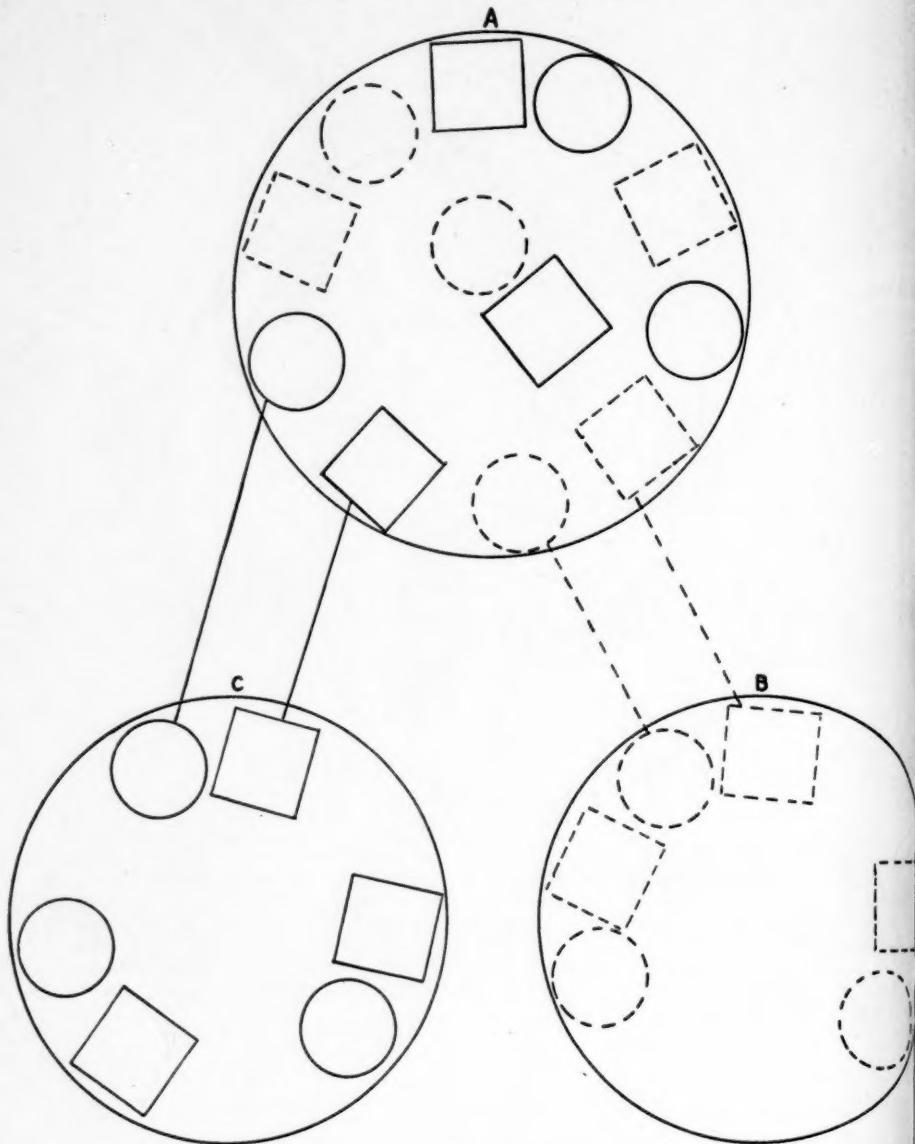


FIGURE 3

The large top circle (A) represents the all-reality world as described in Figure 2. The two lower circles represent the world of fantasy (B) and the world of reality (C). At this stage of development only the two lower circles represent the actual process. The matrix of all-reality is reproduced here in order that the twin-process of replacement can be visualized. An illustration of the re-cast is given here by means of one pair of individuals and objects in circles B and C.

ROLE DIAGRAM

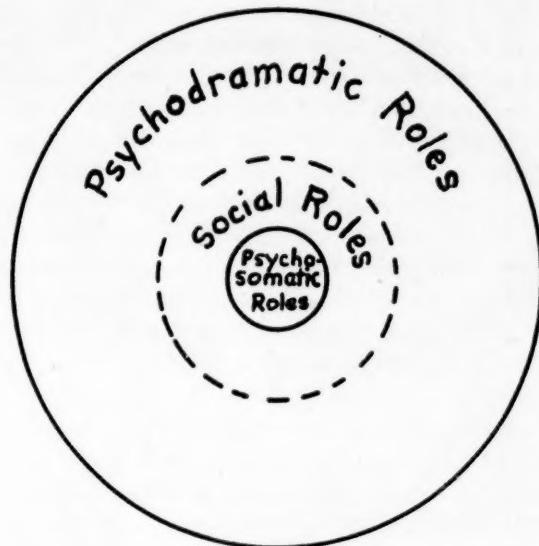


FIGURE 4

This diagram portrays the three types of role, the precursors of the ego. The psychosomatic roles are in the innermost circle, and the next two concentric circles represent the social and psychodramatic roles, with a dotted line to separate them indicating that the threshold between them is thin. A smaller space is assigned to the social roles, since they are less intensively developed than the psychodramatic roles.

TABLE OF ROLE CLASSIFICATIONS

Origin	Degree of Freedom of Spontaneity		Content	Quantity
	Role Taking	Role Playing		
Collective Roles	Psychosomatic Roles	Psychodramatic Roles	Deficiency of Roles	
Individual Roles	Role Playing	Social Roles	Adequacy of Roles	
	Role Creating		Superiority of Roles	
Time	Speed	Consistency	Rank	Form
Expectancy (future)	Slow	Weak	Dominant	Flexible
Presentness	Average	Balanced	Recessive	Rigid
Reminiscent (past)	Fast	Strong		
	Overheated			

measure spontaneity and spontaneity tests do not measure intelligence—in its narrower sense. This does not exclude that both cannot be combined to advantage. The s factor cuts into and delimits also the meaning of memory. Spontaneity tests do not measure memory, therefore spontaneity tests must be so constructed that intelligence, memory, conditioning, gene and tele factors are as much as possible eliminated as factors which may influence the actions of individuals. An individual with a low IQ may act more spontaneous than an individual with a high IQ. An individual with a low capacity for the retention of facts by memory may be more spontaneous than individuals with a highly developed and reliable memory function. Several individuals, equally unconditioned to a novel situation may vary in their response to it. One may be at a loss before it because of a deficiency in the s factor, another may adapt himself to it with delay. Others again, may show many degrees of adequacy. A delicate job will be the separation of s factors from gene factors. There may be found special genes for speed of a spontaneous state. But the decrease or increase of spontaneity states by an individual facing a novel situation, requires a sense of timing for which no hereditary provision may exist. Concepts as adaptation, flexibility, adjustment and re-adjustment are continuously dealing with the s factor and will gain in clarity by its measurement.

The earliest s hypothesis was based on the premise that a certain degree of cerebral development is indispensable for the emergence of the s factor. It was assumed that the system of conditioned reflexes, intelligence, and memory must be well established before the human organism can be ready for the s factor, and that it would not dare to use it even if it could emerge and establish itself at a premature point of his development, since it would expose him to enormous, perhaps fatal complications. It was further assumed that therefore the "moment" as a category and as a focus in itself could not maintain itself as a pragmatic tool for the shaping of human progress. Fearful of staking his existence on spontaneity and the unreliabilities of the moment, the more primitive man threw his creativity eagerly into forms which could be preserved—those of technical and cultural conserves. The dreadful feeling of imperfection, which unprepared momentary performances gave him was shrewdly overcome by *clinging* to these technological crutches and cultural devices. But the over-extensive development of the techno-cultural environment has brought about a new crisis in the form of the robot and cultural machinery such as, for example, the motion pictures. They were able not only to assist but to replace man at the moment of performance. The practical result was that man reduced his

creativity to a minimum and yet exerted enormous power over others. At this point in his development in our time, man was sufficiently protected by technological and cultural machinery so that he now can afford to experiment with the s factor as a focus in itself.

An extension of this formula was forced upon us a few years ago by the following observations: Individuals are able to improve their behavior and to attain superior performance skill without any *significant* change in the intelligence quotient. Changes in performance skill will reflect in the results of intelligence testing but not to the degree of the total gain caused by the s factor since the intelligence test is not a sensitive enough instrument to measure the s factor. Mental defectives, who have come to an end of their learning ranges by means of devices which are constructed to meet the postulates of intelligence and memory functions are still able to learn by means of spontaneity training and rôle-playing. Children between two to six years of age have a relation to social and cultural stereotypes which differs markedly from that of adults. They love to repeat and to have things repeated to them again and again. They are rarely satisfied with any *one* version of an action or of a tale related to them. Life is an adventure which is never finished. It appears as if the s factor enters the situation and *postpones* the end. Their love for the same actions and tales, their perennial striving to return to them produces a *clinging* affection to cultural conserves which is in part a substitute, in part an extension of the clinging to auxiliary egos and objects in early infancy.

A tentative picture of how the s factor develops from the situation at birth on is as follows: To begin with it is weak, inconstant and emerges particularly at critical moments. At times it fails to emerge although its failure to come to the rescue becomes often fatal to the infant. The vehicle of its operation is the physical starter portion of the warming up process. Within the first weeks of life it increases in frequency and quantity but hardly in stability. The clinging to the auxiliary ego is another formidable anchorage for its operation. The s factor is according to this an active agent in behalf of the infant long before intelligence and memory develop new methods of orientation for the infant. But there comes a point in the development of the infant when intelligence and memory take the lead and the s factor is forced more and more to be subservient to them. With the breach between fantasy and reality, a new flare-up of the s factor takes place. For a while it seems as if it would be able to make intelligence, memory, and the social forces subservient to itself. But finally it submits to the mighty social and cultural stereotypes which dominate the human

environment. The *s* factor becomes from then on, as the child grows older, the forgotten function.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper presents a hypothesis regarding the development of the human infant from the situation at birth until he has found the first safe anchorage in the new world. The hypothesis uses ideas like spontaneity, locus nascendi, warming-up process, spontaneous act, act-hunger, rôle-playing, and auxiliary ego in order to construct new concepts such as the matrix of identity and the first universe.

A hypothesis, covering the most mysterious part of human existence and its least articulate phase, is here presented with reservation, awaiting consequent research to prove or disprove it. It offers, however, certain values which are important for a well-constructed hypothesis: (a) simplicity; the "spontaneity-warming-up process and act-hunger" syndrome is the basis of all other formulations. It appears to have an inner consistency and uniformity greater than previous efforts of interpretation; (b) productivity; it is able to interpret heretofore puzzling phenomena of infancy, the "short" intra-uterine existence, the "long" period after birth, infantile amnesia, the origin of image-building, and the origin of the dream; (c) it is stimulating further research and (d) it offers the matrix of all-identity as a common root of mental development—in fact, of the entire learning process.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

Theoretical and empirical constructs. Pure logical and intuitive constructs are permissible in domains of research, which are yet entirely unexplored. Such domains of research are, from time to time, opening up, as it was with the sociometric approach before about 1923. Once, however, a domain of research has been investigated by appropriate tools, pure theoretical constructs become retrogressive. All constructs and hypotheses should be based from them on jointly on logical, intuitive, and empirical guides. An illustration of this is sociometric research. After "Das Stegreiftheater" (1923), The Group Method (1931), and Who Shall Survive (1934), a new strategy of research became imperative. See "Sociometry in Relationship to other Social Sciences", *Sociometry*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1937.

Stages in child development. . . . "The main lines of (child) development may be summarized as follows: a stage of *organic isolation* (italics as in original) from birth on, a group of isolated individuals each fully self-absorbed; a stage of *horizontal* (italics as in original) differentiation of structure from about 20-28 weeks on, the babies begin to react toward each other, the factor of physical proximity and physical distance making respectively for psychological proximity or psychological distance, the 'acquaintance' beginning with neighbors first, a horizontal differentiation of structure; a stage of *vertical* differentiation of structure from about 40-42 weeks on, one or another

infant commands disproportionate attention shifting the distribution of emotion within the group from the horizontal to a vertical differentiation of structure, the group which had been up to this point equally 'levelled,' develops more prominent and less prominent members, a 'top' and a 'bottom.' See Moreno, J. L., "Who Shall Survive?", 1934, pages 23-24.

Position of the infant in social space. "The basis of sociometric classification is not a psyche which is bound up within an individual organism but *an individual organism moving around in space in relation to things or other subjects also moving around him in space.* (italics as in original) The tele, however inexpensive or rudimentary, is an expression of the degree of attraction among them. Our sociometric classification formula does not have else but to express the position of an individual within a group of subjects and things" . . . "Who Shall Survive?", 1934, pp. 377-378.

Spontaneity. "The root of the word 'spontaneous' and its derivatives is the Latin *sponte*, meaning *of free will*. Spontaneity has the inherent tendency to be experienced by a subject as his own state, autonomous and free—free, that is, from any external influence, and free from any internal influence which he cannot control. It has, for the subject, at least, all the markings of a freely produced experience." 'Spontaneity is also the ability of a subject to meet each new situation with adequacy.' 'It (spontaneity) is not only the process within the person, but also the flow of feeling in the direction of the spontaneity state of another person. From the contact between two spontaneity states centering, naturally, in two different persons, there results an interpersonal situation.'" (The interpersonal response is called *tele*.) See J. L. Moreno, "Spontaneity Procedures in Television Broadcasting with Special Emphasis on Interpersonal Relation Systems", *Sociometry*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1942; also see Moreno, J. L., "The Philosophy of the Moment and the Spontaneity Theatre," *Sociometry*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1941; see Moreno, J. L., "Who Shall Survive?", 1934.

Warming-up Process. "The bodily starters of any behavior as acting or speaking on the spur of the moment are accompanied by physiological signs. In the process of warming up these symbols unfold and release simple emotions, as fear, anger, or more complex states. It is not necessary that verbal reactions evolve in the process of warming up. They may or they may not. But the mimic symbols are always present; they are related to underlying physiological processes and to psychological states. Warming up indicators have been determined experimentally. The experiment was so conducted that the subject had no intention to produce any specific mental state. It was suggested to him to throw himself into this or that bodily action without thinking what will come out of it. The 'starting' of these actions was found to be accompanied by a process of 'warming up.' We could observe then that if a subject lets go with certain expressions as gasping, accelerating the breathing, etc., without a definite goal, there are nevertheless developed certain emotional trends. The latter did not seem to be related to *one* emotion exclusively but rather to a whole group of emotions with similar properties in common. For instance, the following expressions,—clenching teeth and fists, piercing eyes, frowning, energetic movements, shrill voice, hitting, scuffling of feet, holding head high, accelerated breathing, and others, tend to release emotional states as anger, will to dominate, hate, or a *vague precursor* of these trends of feeling. Another set, accelerated breathing, gasping, trembling, flight, twisting facial muscles, inability to talk, sudden crying out, clasping hands, etc., is developing another trend of feeling, anxiety, fear, despair, or a combination of these.

Another set, smiling, laughing, chuckling, widening the eyes, kissing, hugging, etc., is stimulating a condition of happy excitation. However, undifferentiated the feelings produced may be, it is observable that one set of movements *starts* one trend of feelings and another set of movements *starts* another trend, and so on. Each of these three sets of starters appears to operate as a unit. . . . Bodily movements were found to follow one another in a certain order of succession according to which is the initiating starter. If the succession is interrupted, the temporal order is spoiled and the state of feeling released is confused." See Moreno, J. L., "Who Shall Survive?", 1934, pp. 194-195.

"The warming-up process consists of specific acts and intervals. While an individual eats, such acts and intervals vary in duration. The rate of frequency with which one act follows another is characteristic of each individual. It can be so speedy that the intervals between the acts are around zero, or so drawn out that they (the pauses) become the essence of an individual's warming-up process. In this case, the acts appear like occasional breaks in a continuum of pause."

"The role of the eater is one of the most fundamental roles for the infant. The baby's performance during the feeding process is a continuum of acts, hardly broken by an interval. It takes a breathing spell only after a chain of acts bring about an abrupt pause. In the evolution of a performance state, the act must be considered as primary and the pause considered largely as secondary and later development. It appears from observation that the function of pauses develops more rapidly as soon as the infant learns to use tools for eating and when it begins to eat with others. The pause is the result of a normative social process. The time of duration of a meal can be expressed by the following formula: T (total time) = s (starting interval) plus N (number) \times A (time of average act) + N_1 (a different number) \times P (time of average pause). In the case of Sarah's meal (a mental patient), her average act lasted 37.2 seconds, her pauses averaged 78.75 seconds, her starting interval 180 seconds (3 minutes). We know that she took 25 mouthfuls and needed 24 pauses. Therefore her formula would read: $T = 180 + 25 \times 37.2 + 24 \times 78.75$, or T 3,000 (seconds) which make 50 minutes. At the same meal, Barbara needed 50 mouthfuls. Five very short pauses were observed, and no starting interval was needed. She took $5\frac{1}{2}$ minutes for the meal, or 330 seconds. The time of the average act was thus 6.6 seconds, and her pauses averaged 3 seconds. We could not time the negative intervals, but their total may be computed when we use the above formula, with slight modification. Thus: $T = 0$ (starting interval) + $50 \times 6.6 + 5 \times 3 - T_2$ (total of negative intervals). We know she took 330 seconds, so the equation simplifies into this: $330 = 330 + 15 - T_2$, hence $T_2 = 15$ seconds."

"Evidently, acting and pausing develop in the evolution of a specific performance an interrelated dynamic quality. In Sarah's case this dynamic function of pausing is perverted. It is indeed, as a more detailed analysis shows, only apparently a pause. The pause is masking a new underlying act or a series of acts which attach her mind to one or another of her fears of ideas. By these interpolated foreign warming-up processes, her return to the performance of eating is extremely handicapped. Indeed her pauses are often so perverted that they consist of a true pause plus a chain of foreign acts plus a starting interval towards a new mouthful. In Barbara's case the situation is different. It is the act which is perverted, and not the pause," (See Normal and Abnormal Characteristics of Performance Patterns, with special reference to the duration of spontaneous states, by Joseph Sargent, Anita M. Uhl, in collaboration with

J. L. Moreno, M.D., *Sociometry*, volume 2, number 4, 1939.)

Observations of bottle-fed and breast-fed babies showed that the duration of a feeding is spontaneously terminated by the infant when the point of saturation is reached. The mother, or auxiliary ego, may prolong the feeding act forcibly beyond the child's own termination, or the mother may shorten it abruptly. The result of such interference is that the infant will interrupt and pause, at times without outside stimulus, resulting in a perverted warming up of his role of eating.

Organization of the Human Person. The human person is the result of hereditary forces (g), spontaneous forces (s), social forces (t), and environmental forces (e). According to this formula, social forces are differentiated from environmental forces. Sociometric investigations and the development of the tele factor have shown this distinction to be of advantage from the point of systematics. The tendency of gestalt psychologists and field theorists to throw the social and object relations into one and the same field—environment—is disadvantageous. Similarly, the study of the psychological forces themselves would profit from a division between the general p processes (intelligence, memory, association, etc.) and the s (spontaneity) factor.

Direct study and experimentation with the human infant, and the construction of tests, facilitating hypotheses based upon their findings will replace gradually all indirect methods whether based upon animal behavior or the behavior of human adults. These types of study should take second place. Behavioristic concepts coming from experimentation with animals, as conditioning reflex, reconditioning, blocking (mixing in the analysis of animal behavior the metaphors of human interpretation), etc., tend to oversimplify the situation of the human infant. They cannot be but supplementary to the study of direct spontaneous and immediate events. Psychoanalytic concepts, on the other hand, coming from the analysis of human adults, as unconscious, identification, repression, regression, transference, displacements, trauma, etc., cannot but over-complicate the situation. They are useless at this level of personality growth (not to mention other reasons), as the psychodynamic situation from which they have been derived does not exist or does not exist as yet. The psychoanalytic investigator pushes backwards towards the trauma. However, there is no trauma constructible preceding the moment of birth. The psychodramatist pushes forward towards the act. But the direction of the push begins with the infant at birth, thereby affording no possibility of a backward push—only a push forward, which is the living process in progression.

Spontaneity Training. ". . . We decided to let the subject act as if he had no past, and were not determined by an organic structure; to describe what occurs with the subject in these moments in terms of action; to stick to the evidence as it emerges before our eyes, and to derive our working hypotheses from it exclusively. The starting point was the state into which the subject threw himself for the purpose of expression. He threw himself into it at will. There was no past image guiding him, at least not consciously. There was no striving in him to repeat a past performance or to surpass it. He warmed up to a state of feeling often jerkily and inadequately. He showed a sense of relationship to people and things around him. After a few moments of tension came relaxation and pause, the anti-climax. We called this state the *Spontaneity State*. . . . The students are told to throw themselves into the situations, to live them through, and to enact every detail needed in them as if it were in earnest. . . . No situation is repeated. . . . During the training a student takes careful record of each performance. A copy of it goes to every student. . . . After each performance an

analysis and discussion of it opens up, in which the students as well as the instructor take part. . . . The most striking therapeutic effect is the general increase in flexibility and facility in meeting life situations, within the organic limits of the particular individual." See Moreno, J. L., and Jennings, Helen, "Spontaneity Training", *Psychodrama Monograph*, no. 3, Beacon House, New York.

The Auxiliary Ego. "The situation of the auxiliary ego has to be differentiated from its function. However much he may have become auxiliary, however deeply he may approximate the ideal of unification, the unity is never complete owing to organic and psychological limitations. The degree of organic and psychological limitations varies." The mother is to the baby with whom she is pregnant an ideal auxiliary ego. She still is that after the birth of her infant whom she nurses and for whom she cares, but the organic and psychological gap manifests itself before the infant is born. The mother is the ideal example of an instinctive auxiliary ego. Either the auxiliary ego includes the person to be aided—inclusion of the weak infant's ego by the mother ego—or it is itself included. In the latter case the auxiliary ego is weak and the person aided is strong. This relationship is often forced, as in serf-master relationship, and has the mark of exploitation. The auxiliary ego can take good advantage of the gap between himself and the person to be aided. As only a part of his ego is spent in the process of unification, *a part of it is free to act in behalf of this ego beyond what he can do for himself*. . . . The situation of the auxiliary ego is therefore to attain unity with a person, to absorb the patient's wishes and needs and to operate in his behalf without being, however, identical with him."

Role-playing. "We consider roles and relationships between roles as the most significant development within any specific culture. The pattern of role relations around an individual as their focus is called his cultural atom. Every individual, just as he has a set of friends and a set of enemies,—a social atom—also has a range of roles facing a range of counter-roles. *The tangible aspects of what is known as the 'ego' are the roles in which he operates*." Moreno, J. L., "Sociometry and the Cultural Order," *Sociometry Monograph No. 2*, Beacon House, Inc., 1943.

Tele. "A feeling which is projected into distance; the simplest unit of feeling transmitted from one individual towards another." See Moreno, J. L., "Who Shall Survive?", 1934, page 432. "The socio-gravitational factor which operates between individuals, drawing them to form *more* positive or negative pair-relations, triangles, quadrangles, polygons, etc., than on *chance*, I have called 'tele'—derived from the Greek, the meaning is 'far' or 'distant.' It has no relation to 'telos' which means the 'end' or 'purpose.'" See Moreno, J. L., "Sociometry and the Cultural Order", *Sociometry Monograph*, no. 2, Beacon House, Inc., 1943.

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REALITY-PRACTICE AS EDUCATIONAL METHOD

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The evidences of shortcomings in the effects of present day educational procedures are consistently enough with us, particularly in times of national emergency effort, to keep us keenly aware of the need for unceasing vigilance and ingenuity in creating more effective types of learning experiences for all types of educational objectives. This paper attempts to describe and illustrate one such development in teaching practice which has proved its value in elementary, high school, and college classrooms, in clubs, and in adult education groups. This method may be called the "role-playing" or "reality-practice" method. As an educational method it takes cognizance of three trends in educational thinking about the learning experience—trends which may be summarized as follows:

1. There is a growing recognition in the school and social agency of the need to bring the class or club into closer relationship with the life situations for which training is being undertaken as a preparation. The present emphasis upon training-on-the-job procedures in industry and in-service training of teachers are symptoms of this trend. This is more than just an application of "transfer of training" principles. This demand for "real experiences" is also a recognition of the fact that the motivation to learn and to change patterns of behavior or of attitudes is stimulated by the facing of genuine problems in their essentially social settings—no matter whether a foreign language, history, civics, "good manners," or social psychology is the topic of the course.

2. The importance of the social setting in which effective learning experiences can occur is reflected in a second trend in educational thinking. We are giving increasing attention to the importance of new aspects of the grouping problem. Heterogeneity or homogeneity of grouping in regards to age and intelligence is recognized as only part of the problem. Putting emphasis upon the social-emotional relationship between the teacher and the individual learner is also inadequate. We are learning that primary attention must be given to the interpersonal relations between all members of the learning group, and to the position of the teacher or trainer in this total group structure (1, 2). Redl (3) has pointed out the very different types of emotional relations that exist between various teachers and their groups, and the way in which these relations condition the "learning poten-

tial" of the educational experience. Other studies have underscored the importance of emotional warmth, spontaneity, and intellectual objectivity as characteristics of the "social climate" of relationships in effective learning situations (4, 5, 6, 7). Group-centered thinking from the field of group work and social psychology is just beginning to join hands in the classroom with individual-centered thinking from the field of mental hygiene and social case work.

3. Probably both of these emphases in educational method have added momentum to a third development. It has become increasingly clear that in only a small proportion of our teaching procedures can we be satisfied with the effective transmission of *information*. More often the educational obligation is to transmit actual *performance skills* or to create basic *attitudes*. Success in reaching these objectives cannot be measured in terms of the knowledge students can demonstrate orally or in writing. Only changes in behavior can be accepted as evidence of successful teaching achievement in this regard. Such experiments as the "eight year study" of the Progressive Educational Association have given recognition to this point (8).

Teaching method depends upon education objective

To put these three principles of educational method into practice implies skill in the careful selection of appropriate teaching procedure to achieve the particular desired objective. Observation of classroom practices at all levels from the kindergarten to the college reveals that we are doing a poor job in this regard. By and large we still think in terms of "good" and "poor" educational methods, rather than in focusing on "the appropriate method to get across information about taxation," "the most efficient method to create an attitude of inter-racial tolerance," "the most effective combination of methods to prepare a wounded man to resume life in his family," etc. This kind of specificity in questioning ourselves about the appropriateness of our educational methods to achieve a specific objective pushes us into some interesting new channels of thinking and practice. We find ourselves asking such questions as those below about any new teaching project:

1. How *ready* is the individual or the group to define and accept or modify the particular educational objective? Is there an active readiness to learn in this given area based upon an awareness of inadequate information or skill? Or is there only a vague willingness to "be educated more"? Or is there apathy, or even active resistance, to new learnings related to this specific educational goal? Different answers to these questions carry implications for the utilization of quite different teaching techniques.

2. What is the *starting point* of this individual or group in beginning

to participate in this educational experience? Are they already partially informed or skilled? Are they starting "from scratch," from a baseline of ignorance or lack of skill? Or are they starting with a fund of misinformation or wrong training? The different answers here again call for different educational procedures.

3. And most important of all, we must ask—how will the individual or group be *personally affected* in their present pattern of behavior or thinking by the new learning? Will the new knowledge disturb or reinforce their present perspectives? Will basic sources of ego satisfaction be challenged or supplied by the new skill or attitude? Will the individual be likely to "lose face" in his immediate group or in the community if he puts his new learning into practice? Can the new learning be seen by the learner as a path to greater economic security or happier relations with other persons or greater safety on the battlefield? How strong and how deep will be the resistance to the teaching of this particular attitude? Such questions must be thoughtfully asked by every teacher or trainer if appropriate educational methods are to be selected.

Some generalizations about the learning experience

Before turning to the concrete description of a teaching sequence as a basis for more specific discussion of these criteria of "appropriate classroom method" a few preliminary generalizations may be made from the training researches on which this report is based:

1. A great deal of inefficiency in the learning process occurs when a group is immersed in learning experiences before they have had the preliminary step of becoming "ready" or sensitive to their need for the given skill or area of information and have cooperatively participated in setting the goal of achievement for themselves. The teacher has the job here of making a careful diagnosis of how much "complacency shaking" is required; how much individual and group encouragement is needed; and how active a cooperative planning job the group can be expected to carry out. Especially in the teaching of attitudes and interpersonal skills, and particularly with adults, it seems essential to crack the shell of educational formality in classroom situations before spontaneous participation in effective learning experiences can occur.

2. A major problem is the "talking past each other" that occurs when teacher and students try verbally to share their experiences as a basis for building up common understandings and principles. In a majority of teaching projects there seems to be a need for concrete common group experiences which can be used as the basis of unambiguous study and evaluation.

3. Where the teaching objective is to create or change attitudes or skills an "atmosphere of objectivity" is necessary to prevent ego-defense resistances from blocking new learnings. This atmosphere requires the creation of a friendly *group morale* where a group role-expectancy of cooperative objectivity is established as part of the group atmosphere. This must be based on a group's self-awareness of itself as a group unity composed of individuals with recognized individual differences but also having a "common stake." (Here the makeup of the group is important as well as good leadership on the part of the teacher.)

4. Where there is no chance to get realistic practice of new knowledge or skills in the supervised learning situation there can be little expectation that the new learnings will be put to functional use in the life situation. The acquiring of a new skill in the use of ideas, or tools, or interpersonal behavior and attitudes is greatly augmented if there can be a friendly supervised practice period where mistakes can be ironed out *in practice* (6) before the learner has to begin *playing for keeps*. This idea of "supervised practice" may seem to pose a practical barrier for the teacher trying to get across good eating habits to fifth graders, the Civics teacher interpreting National government to her high school class, the professor of first year education students in a teachers college, the trainer of new Scoutmasters meeting with a group of men with no boys around, or the officer responsible for re-educating the attitudes of disabled service men before their return to civilian communities. It may appear that the "classroom job" has to be accomplished first as preparation for the time when real practice will be possible. The remainder of this paper reports a technique for stimulating reality-practice situations which can be supervised in the classroom or the larger environment of an educational institution such as the total college campus. This technique has been introduced to the field of education and especially to psychotherapy for some time by J. L. Moreno as the psychodramatic procedure—a method of helping neurotic and psychotic patients to spontaneously act out their problem situations and work out more satisfactory adjustmental behaviors in social relationships. (9, 10). The present authors have been experimenting for two years with the applications of this technique as an educational (rather than therapeutic) classroom procedure for making supervised practice possible as a part of a wide variety of learning experiences that are too often taught at the verbal rather than the performance level. The description of classroom use which follows offers a demonstration of the place of this "role-practice" method in a typical educational sequence aimed at the teaching of a specific type of skill in interpersonal relations.

A summary of additional variations in method and of application to other types of educational problems follows the example.

A "Reality-Practice" Session

The classroom use of role-practice presented here is based upon a parent-child relations problem in a sociology course on *The Family*. This description of the role-playing technique of studying such a problem is hypothetical in order that it may more quickly cover and more clearly discriminate the usual stages in the development of the method than might a verbatim account of an actual classroom situation. The procedure is typical of that used in a wide variety of teaching projects. Marginal notes indicate the various steps of the role-practice process. These notes are expanded in a later section. The educational objective of the teacher here is to go beyond textbook information to a situation that will forge attitudes and give "behavior-practice" more likely to result in a changed pattern of actual living.

The scene is a typical co-educational classroom with about 25 students. The teacher opens the class period . . .

TEACHER: We have been examining the problems of modern family life and effective parental behavior. To review a bit: We spent several days examining carefully the changes in family living, and the change in the functions of the family during the last fifty years. Then we studied the findings of research on parent-child relations and saw how the pattern of these conflicts has changed over the years and how it is different for different aged children and for different cultures. Yesterday we heard reports made by two teams on their actual observations of family life over several days and in a number of situations. You will remember how amused we were several times, and how disturbed we were in other instances when we realized how frequent and petty parent-child conflicts can be, and how differently those in one group see and interpret these events. In our discussion of the reports we agreed that parent-child conflict is probably inevitable, but that

SENSITIZING THE GROUP TO THEIR TRAINING NEED for deeper insights into the dynamics of family living. This is especially necessary in learning areas that ordinarily give the student complacency because of their "every-day" nature. This discovery that "we see the same event differently" is a stimulation to "learn to look more deeply."

it might better lead toward an eventual improvement in understanding rather than a constant running battle.

TEACHER: Today we are ready for a deeper look into parent-child relations. The procedure we will use, the playing of roles, in a specific situation, will ensure us that we are talking about the same thing when we use the same words. Today we will share our experience. This will prevent the kind of confusion we had several days ago when Hanson said that mostly family troubles were concerned with "discipline", and a number of class members revealed that they had entirely different notions of what "discipline" is. Today we shall be able to discuss something we have all experienced rather than to talk about the "meaning" of words. Then too, as you shall see, we'll get some practice in the skills needed in meeting an actual parent-child relations problem.

All right, let's imagine our family is father, mother, and young adolescent girl, say 12 or 13 years old. What might be a typical problem for this small family?

STUDENT 12: She wants to wear make-up and her parents think that she is too young.

(After some counter proposals this conflict is accepted as a typical one)

TEACHER: What kind of a family might this be?

STUDENT 5: Middle class.

STUDENT 6: And the parents are late middle-aged.

STUDENT 23: He owns a shoe store, a fuddy-duddy one.

STUDENT 5: In a small town.

(Similar additions round out the *general situation*)

TEACHER: That is enough about the situa-

Pointing out the value of common experience for the thinking of the group. Words mean different things for us. We need to check up on ourselves.

THE WARM-UP

Defining the situation

Sometimes a specific problem of one class member is used but here the total class shares in creating the problem and situation.

tion to give our players cues for setting up the role-playing. Let's give them some leads on the kinds of persons these three are. Krall has already suggested that the parents be middle-aged. Any other suggestions?

STUDENT 12: The girl is a cry-baby.

STUDENT 24: She never tries to think things through.

STUDENT 23: She tells fibs.

(Other suggestions are made about the girl's personality. Note in the review of methods below that there are a number of methods for getting characters defined)

TEACHER: What is the Father like?

STUDENT 20: A middle-aged man with a soft mustache and a big pipe. The kind that wears white suspenders!

STUDENT 23: He is a Deacon in the church.

STUDENT 15: If he worries about make-up he must be bothered about the behavior of kids.

(Other suggestions are made about the Father's and Mother's personality)

TEACHER: Now we know what the family is like. Who'll take these parts? (Most of the class become suddenly intent on writing notes or examining floor) (silence) Who do you suggest for the role of the girl?

STUDENT 20: Jeanie Harris!

TEACHER: How about it Jean? All right. How about Jud as the Father? (Class grins assent) Who'll be Mother?

STUDENT 24: Ann Lombard would be swell.

TEACHER: We'll give the three players about two minutes out in the hall in order for them to rough out the plans for depicting a family conflict over the wearing of make-up. Remember, just the situation, no planning of what to say. (The three role-takers leave

Cooperative defining of the roles.

Getting specific examples of behavior for role defining.

Taking the roles

Defining the situation—continued.

the room). During the role-playing let's keep notes on the aspects of effective parenthood and those of ineffective parenthood that we see. We'll discuss these observations later.

STUDENT 15: When the players return will they be trying to give a picture of an ideal family, will they be acting as they, themselves, would in such a situation, or what will they be doing?

TEACHER: They will each give their own interpretation in action of the role we sketched out for them in broad terms. Remember that the object here is not an accurate portrayal of roles or a portrayal of a "perfect" family but a sample of parent-child interactions which we can all observe and discuss.

(The players return)

TEACHER: What are your plans?

MOTHER: We have decided that our setting will be in the living room shortly after supper. Father will be reading the paper and listening to the radio. Mary, the daughter, will not enter until we have talked a bit.

TEACHER: Tell us a little about the room. Where are the chairs, the radio, and so forth?

MOTHER: (Indicating) This is Father's chair next to the radio.

FATHER: And here is the entrance from the kitchen.

(More questions are asked about the setting)

TEACHER: O. K., let's go.

FATHER: (Seated before radio, fiddles with dials, leans back to enjoy paper and pipe)

MOTHER: (Entering) Mmm! That is nice music. (Sits absently)

FATHER: Yes, it is.

MOTHER: Be home this evening?

Getting the group to "observe" intelligently.

The situation further defined by the role-players, to make it as "real" as possible and to warm up the participants in their roles.

The role-playing starts easily. The behavior and conversation flow spontaneously from the family experiences of the participants rather than from any "learned lines".

FATHER: Uh-huh. What is Mary getting ready for?

MOTHER: She's going skating with Sunny Morse.

FATHER: Better be sure to tell her to get home early. (A bit of silence) I hear the most terrible stories down at the store. Some of the kids in this town are plenty wild. (pause) In fact, kids aren't like the way they were when we were Mary's age. Why Lennie's kid doesn't miss a single movie that comes to town. When I was his age, I wouldn't have had the time to go to shows if they had 'em. I was so busy. And they're on the streets at all hours!

MOTHER: (Nods as though it is an old story from her man but one with which she agrees. She is knitting)

FATHER: (Mumbles as he swings sheets of newspaper)

(Mary enters)

MARY: Good night, Mom. Good night, Pop.

MOTHER: Have a good time. Your father says he wants you home promptly at 9.

FATHER: (Looks out from behind newspaper) And we mean nine! No later! (Frowns, looks closer) What have you got on your face?

MARY: (Begins an embarrassed reply) Its . . .

FATHER: I know very well what it is! (louder) It's ROUGE and LIPSTICK!

MARY: No it isn't. I just washed my face and rubbed hard with the towel.

FATHER: It's paint! Enough to make you look like a painted woman!

MARY: (Doggedly) But I'm old enough to . . .

FATHER: Old enough be damned! I don't want your *Mother* to wear that stuff!

MARY: (Voice beginning to break) Oh, Daddy! All the kids wear it. They would

Taking roles releases many inhibitions of "polite classroom behavior".

The portrayal of actual problems mustn't be censored.

laugh at me. . . .

FATHER: So, it's more important what they think than what your father and mother say? The scandal I hear about kids in town makes me shudder . . . and now you're one of them!

MARY: I never have anything to do with the Olympic Athletic Club kids but I might as well. You *think* I do! Oh! I won't go!

MOTHER: Now you *are* going too far. You said just the other day that you knew that you could always trust Mary. . . .

FATHER: This has nothing to do with trusting her. I want her to wash her face, that's all.

MARY: Never mind, I'm not going (On verge of tears)

MOTHER: I agree with you about the paint but I don't think that makes Mary any less trustworthy.

FATHER: Why, she denied that she had the stuff on, a few minutes ago! *That* was a lie, wasn't it?

(Mother continues knitting while Mary softly sobs)

FATHER: (Self-righteously) Now, I'm not going to soften like I usually do. I know what I'm doing. I made a point and I am going to stand by this one.

MARY: (Still sobbing)

MOTHER: I think that father was too harsh too—never mind, Mary. (Gently) Stop crying.

FATHER: (After a pause—somewhat softer) Mary, stop crying.

MARY: (Continues sobbing)

MOTHER: There, there. . . . (to Mary)

FATHER: (Beginning to retreat) I didn't mean that you never could wear it. Maybe when you're old enough you can wear it.

MARY: (Still sobs)

FATHER: Well, go ahead, Mary. Wear just a little bit. Maybe that won't bother me so much.

MARY: (Rises and wanders out of the room, still dismal in the midst of her victory)

TEACHER: That is a good place to stop. Let's first list the behavior that is typical of the father, then we can experiment with other ways in which Father and Mother may have handled this family situation.

In the discussion the following points are made about the father's behavior:

1. He is not aware of modern mores.
2. His imagination is colored by an uncritical belief in vague rumors of scandal about young people.
3. The child is unfavorably characterized in her presence.
4. The father is inconsistent.
5. The father is far from firm in his convictions.
6. The father has no comprehension of the pull of loyalty and the degree of judgment an adolescent attributes to her friends.

The discussion turned to the girl:

1. The friend's esteem is more valued than that of parents.
2. "Make-up" is apparently considered a sign of "belongingness" to the group—both boys and girls.
3. Though she does engage in mild tantrums, it is probably because she is unable to develop any other course of action under the unreasoning pressures put upon her.
4. She is showing signs of snobbery.

TEACHER: What specific suggestions would you make for changes in the behavior of the father, assuming he wanted to be a better parent?

After a vigorous discussion as to whether such a man could change his behavior the

GROUP EVALUATION of the "drama"—making use of the common experiences of the audience.

Evaluation continued.

following behavior changes are recommended:

1. The father should have and state a more adequate reason than "his own wish" for asking the daughter to refrain from wearing make-up.
2. He needs an accurate conception of the present mores of youth and should indicate to his daughter that she can trust his information.
3. He should be more consistent, since his inconsistency is confusing the girl. Part of his change in that respect can be taken care of by making sure that he does not take a stand which he feels he may not be able to give full support.

TEACHER: Let's have Jud play the father over again trying to make the changes in his behavior recommended thus far. We'll assume that the daughter and mother know nothing about his resolve to change his behavior so that they will act the way they always have in their relations with the father.

(Scene is repeated as before with attempted changes in behavior on the part of Jud but no changes by mother and daughter)

TEACHER: Now, what problems did you have in your attempt to change roles? We'll gain understanding of parent problems if we know the difficulties they have in making changes in their relations with their children.

JUD: One difficulty was the way the mother and daughter were acting toward me. They expected me to act just the same. That expectation of theirs, and their behavior being the same as it always was, put me in the position of repeating my previous pattern of relations with them. It was more comfortable to return to the former way. For example, I wanted to make sure that I said nothing against her friends. Yet, she lied to me the minute I spoke to her and didn't seem

RE-PLAYING THE ROLES
Practicing more desirable behavior patterns.
The teacher-director has an intimate role of friendly supervisor.

A concrete discovery and verbalization of a basic psychological principle.

to notice that I was trying to be a better parent.

TEACHER: Probably Mary needs more knowledge of how you actually feel toward your daughter—and how you react to her. Mary, you assume the role of the father, and Father, you take Mary's role. As soon as you are in the mood of these switched roles, let's go through the scene once more.

(The spontaneous drama is repeated with switched roles)

TEACHER: On the basis of this glimpse into a family conflict what general principles about parental behavior may we derive? We can test them in later role-assuming experiences.

The summary discussion of learnings points up that:

1. One of the most important conflicts between today's parents and children is a cultural one—disagreement between past and present standards.
2. Parents can push so hard that their children are forced to tell lies.
3. Attempts at changing behavior in a family setting are complicated by the expectation that the rest of the family puts upon you to behave the way you have been doing in the past.

TEACHER: The last suggestion is especially pertinent to today's role-playing experience. The first two suggestions can often be found in the literature on the family. What other ideas about family life did you get from this class experience which we have not seen in our readings?

JUD: I felt as though I were having a chance to experiment in living with people. You gave me the idea that the father was a scared, crabby man—so I just got as mad as I wanted to. I don't think I ever noticed

Learning to get insight into "the other fellow's role" is an important part of achieving this particular educational objective.

Summarizing learnings from this experience.

before how people act when I get sore. Poor Mary! I was afraid she thought I meant it!
STUDENT 12: I have come much nearer to an understanding of the concept of "role". The descriptions in the sociology books have never made it "live" for me as did this (play) today.

TEACHER: Let's continue the observation of family life this week—in our own homes or in other families with which we come in contact. Look particularly now for examples of how potential conflict situations are handled so that harmony instead of conflict occurs. And of course those of us that are living at home can do a little "trying-out" of some of the techniques we are learning—and perhaps make a report to the class on what happens.

Keeping the whole classroom experience oriented toward the realities of life outside the classroom for which this reality-practice experience serves as a genuine preparation.

DISCUSSION OF METHODS USED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A REALITY-PRACTICE EXPERIENCE

The development of the educational role-playing situation usually follows a definite sequence of steps: (1) sensitizing to need for training; (2) the warm-up, role-taking, and definition of situation; (3) helping the audience group to observe intelligently; (4) evaluating the role-playing; and (5) re-playing the situation. In the classroom the methods used in fulfilling each of these stages may vary with the topic, group, and teacher. The following discussion summarizes some of the variations in practice that have been used in each of these stages of role-playing in using this method to achieve a variety of educational objectives and with groups varying as suggested by the questions on page 130.

Sensitizing to Need for Training

The object of need-sensitizing is to disturb the complacency of the student and thus to make him aware of his need for learning certain skills or information. It is premised on the assumption that few persons are able to realize, let alone verbalize their lack of skill, especially in interpersonal relations. Relatively seldom is there an active and intelligent readiness to learn—oriented toward a specific educational objective.

The teacher in the above classroom used two techniques for sensitizing

her students to the need for deeper insights into family relations: (1) *presentation of dramatic facts*; and (2) *reports on observations* of family life. The former is a familiar technique and needs no enlargement here. The latter method suggests a variety of possibilities. The observation is usually made with the aid of an observation instrument, the development of which may be a student project (11). This tool is a set of rating scales, check lists, or questions, which serve to guide the eyes of the observers to areas of importance. Observations may be made of *films, stories, printed descriptions of group action, or case materials* on class groups, families, nursery schools, offices, indeed whatever reservoir of specific description of human interactions are suitable for the topic in hand. Observations made on personal interactions without an instrument to guide the observer have their value. Reports made by several observers who viewed the same situation at the same time reveals, as does no other method, the lack of reliability between observers due to predisposition to select different aspects for notations, thus implying that "your way of seeing things" is not the only way. This method reveals the basic semantic difficulties for students of social events and shows the common problems of misunderstanding social interaction dynamics. This experience usually creates or heightens the feeling of "need to learn something more" about all this.

The collection by the trainee of anecdotes pertinent to the topic for which he needs sensitizing is a helpful "complacency shock." In parent-child relations, for example, the student might note instances of parent-child friction (or potential friction avoided) adding his own interpretation of causes and cures.

Sensitizing to needs may also be done by means of a simple check list of typical problems (needs) which the trainee marks indicating those which he feels are his. In other cases an experienced "expert" is brought in who is able to describe typical problems in the situation for which the person is training.

The trainer or teacher will need to vary his sensitizing techniques, depending upon the extent to which the individuals or group are likely to be put on the defensive by a recognition of a "need to learn." Perhaps a special atmosphere of objectivity will need to be fostered of "a majority of folks are in the same boat" in needing to master this problem. The teacher can set this atmosphere by taking the lead personally in verbalizing a need for further knowledge or skill in the given area—often debunking himself as an "expert," defining himself as a fellow learner. If the group is starting from ignorance and the topic does not involve learning to change personal attitudes or behavior, the problem of creating readiness is not such a major

one. But if the group is starting with a fund of misinformation or inadequate performance, and the re-education is in areas of attitudes and social behavior, the careful selection and use of techniques of need-sensitizing through one or more types of complacency shocking is an important first step.

The Warm-Up

The "warm-up" is the stage during which the role-situation is set, the roles defined, and the role-players helped to feel "at-home" in their characters.

In the classroom protocol above, the situation was created and the roles defined by *the group* as a joint creation after the teacher had suggested several ideas about the family situation and turned to the class for advice on the rest of the detail. In other cases the situation and roles may be defined by someone in the group, perhaps the teacher, who has expert information or exclusive experience on the type of problem or with the type of roles under study. This might be true if the students were studying the customs and people of a foreign country which the teacher had visited or where a special guest was a native. A third procedure, quite different from the two mentioned above, is to take the actual personal life situation of some member of the group. In psychotherapy Moreno calls this a *psychodramatic* role-playing situation as compared to the *sociodrama* exemplified by the non-personal role situations of the first two examples (12). If the actual daughter Mary were in the class and worked through with the group her own "lipstick problem," we would be using the psychodramatic technique. This is frequently the most valuable method in working with trainees already on the job for which they are being trained, or for classes in mental hygiene, adult consumer education groups, etc., where the *real problems* are being faced already in daily living for which the course is attempting to give useful skill or knowledge.

A single informant sometimes describes a situation in brief and the rest of the class provides the stereotypes which gives the problem typicality for them all. For example, a club-leader-supervisor roughly described a problem which club-leaders often have in the planning of future meetings. The rest of the group at once knew of types of youth and a typical leader role which they would like to see put together in a "program planning" dramatization. In some cases the group involved does all of the structuring of situation and roles. In a few cases it may be most profitable for the total group to take roles—as representatives in a legislature, for example.

The most important of the above techniques for use in a specific teaching situation will depend upon several questions: Which method will most

effectively introduce the topic content to be studied? Which procedure will help the group achieve greatest insight into the problem being studied? Which approach will help the group feel most at home in the roles to be played? There is great flexibility in tackling such varied problems as: insight into group psychological dynamics, sensitivity to personal latent attitudes, an understanding of other cultures or of minority groups, a functional knowledge of a foreign language.

In general there has been almost no difficulty in getting people to assume and portray roles. All ages take a hand at this job with little hesitation. There is practically no resistance as one might expect there to be, on the grounds that such teaching technique harks back to "kid" days of "make-believe," and most persons readily understand what it means to play a role and are willing to "give it a try."

In a classroom situation, students may not as readily jump to the opportunity of playing a role as they do in less formal training situations. In the family conflict earlier described, the teacher asked for group suggestions, and made one assignment herself. If an informant is being asked to develop the problem, he may have persons in mind for the various roles. An informant may be willing to describe a certain problem but dislike to portray any of the roles himself. The director may gradually build confidence in the informant by cross-questioning him up to the edge of a point which can best be made clear only if the informant acts it out with the director. Transference of this interaction with the director to group role-playing becomes an easy job.

Another way for an informant to be brought into the actual role-playing is to have him observe others acting out a problem he has described in order that he might criticise any errors in the conception of the roles. His involvement in this job will often break down any resistance he might have originally had to portraying the roles.

In general, volunteers and group suggestions will provide the teacher, or "director," with all the role-players he needs. Any reluctant individual who, it is felt, ought to portray one of the roles, may be given confidence by placing him in the initial position of the informant as described above.

Helping the Audience Group to Observe Intelligently

Much of the value of the role-playing technique depends upon the discussion following the spontaneous dramatization. The effectiveness of this discussion is limited in turn by the accuracy and relevance of observation by the group while the role-playing is in progress. The teacher in the above protocol simply asked the group to take notes on the good and bad parental

practices. At the opposite pole is that procedure in which the director gives the group prepared check lists (13). These forms guide the observer to perceive cues considered important in either group or individual behavior. A class group that has made its own check list will be especially insightful in its use. Another advantage of this total group observation is that they will learn to be specific in terminology and to avoid the use of vague terms which have no definable behavior counterpart.

The use of a "clarifier," a person who interprets to the audience what is happening in a group as it happens, is valuable for some learning situations. A detailed description of the "clarifier" in action is reported elsewhere (14).

Re-Playing the Situation

Several interesting variations in "re-doing" the situation have been tried out. Where one aspect of the educational objective is getting an understanding of "the other fellow's point of view", "how parents see things", etc., there is great value in having the same persons change roles and find out what the situation looks like from a different angle. This technique is also helpful where the problem of a specific individual in the group is being studied. Very often this person can be greatly helped if he can be stimulated to gain insight into "his father's point of view" by portraying that role while someone else in the group plays his. Or very often it is helpful to replay the same personal episode with the person sitting on the sidelines observing himself as portrayed by someone else in the class.

Quite a different use of the replaying situation is typified by a leadership problem analysis in which three different members of the group volunteered to take the leader role to work out a problem of an "apathetic committee". All three leaders went outside the room as the committee members defined their roles. Then the leaders came in one at a time to handle the situation (20). The audience made observations of the three examples of leadership role and discussed the differences—arriving at a prescription of how the group might have been handled more effectively. The same leaders then re-played their roles trying to make use of the group prescription for better performance.

A surprising number of episodes can be enacted or re-enacted in a short period of time. In several training sessions as many as five or six persons have re-played the same problem, with intervening group critique, in a class period of an hour. Moving back and forth from a role-playing episode to discussion or critique or lecture and back to more tryout experience has

proven to be a very effective learning sequence in "sinking deeper" than the transmitting of verbal information.

Group Evaluation of the Role-Playing

A most important feature in the use of role-playing is the evaluation of the episode by the larger class group. If the drama has done nothing but provide an example of human relations in a specific setting for a group analysis it has performed an important function.

The foregoing family-problem drama was followed by a discussion in which both players and audience participated. First, they discussed the behavior of the father and suggested ways in which it might have been improved. After the actors had made several attempts to change the interpretation of their roles, the discussion turned to the insights that class members had acquired as a result of this experience. The discussion, or evaluation, attempts to criticize the roles so that the players may re-play them and thus acquire greater skill in inter-personal relations. It also summarizes learnings and explores new problems following the drama.

Questions that are often raised by the director or students following a role-playing are: What was typical of *good* behavior for that role-type? What was typical of *bad* behavior for the role-type? What behavior would have been more typical of this situation? On the basis of these criticisms how should the role behavior be changed? What differences did you find in the interpretation of your different roles? What problems did you find in changing your behavior after the class had suggested ways of changing your role? What principles of behavior did we perceive here that might have more general application?

In short, the role-playing may be considered a mutual group experience comparable to a common reading reference, movies, or lecture. The fact that all group members saw the activity at the same time makes it possible to discuss a mutually known segment of human inter-relations. And the fact that it is spontaneously portrayed adds a note of reality that no other communication tool could provide. In addition, there is the opportunity for group members to try out other forms of behavior than those which they might ordinarily use in a situation that will not penalize them for blunders in human inter-relations, as does real life. As Moreno (16) and John R. P. French (21) have pointed out this is one very important advantage of classroom role-playing over supervision on the job where the greater stake of each person in the things he does makes for greater caution and resistance in trying out anything new or different in his performance.

Directing Role-Playing

The teacher-director, during a role-playing situation, must adopt a pattern of behavior which is distinctly different from that of the usual "teacher" stereotype. The director must keep in mind that "non-approved" behavior may very well occur during a dramatization and that his part is to keep from showing any signs of disapproval. Inasmuch as a role-playing episode is a spontaneous affair, it cannot be expected that it will be an example of a "perfect" or a "best" kind of behavior, nor should it be. The success of the whole group atmosphere depends upon the example of objectivity the teacher is able to give at the revelation of "private" types of human relations in uninhibited interaction. This teaching method will provide problems for the teacher who conceives of his job as one of dealing only in information-dispensing. Role-playing is especially valuable for the development of attitude changes and may be used for that specific educational purpose. However, while attitudes are being changed, there is very often no new information acquired; instead there is simply a reordering of already known facts. This lack of "fact learning" will worry some teachers.

We have already seen in practice the job of the director during the warm-up period. When the dramatization is under way, he has little to do until it is time for him to help the group and players think through how far they have come at a certain point and to start them out on a new angle. Infrequently the director may whisper encouragements or advice to one who may be "losing-a-grip-on-his-role", or who cannot spontaneously find "what to do next". However, it should be cautioned that the tendency for a classroom teacher to interrupt may be more frequent than is wise. The spontaneity of the situation must be protected above all. It is from the spontaneity of reaction that the "reality" arises.

As demonstrated in the above protocol a given plot may be repeated or interrupted any number of times. In our family case the episode came to a rather natural end. It is not necessary for our purpose that the drama reach a climax. All that is needed is a natural sample of human inter-relations. As soon as the point is made or an experience sufficiently completed, the spontaneous drama has served its function and the director may feel free to stop it. Very often the players will stop things themselves. If none of these criteria work, the director may decide that there must be time for a discussion and stop the dramatization in time for it. The role of the director in conducting role-playing for purposes of psycho-therapy requires considerable technical training, but skill in effective use of this technique as an educational method can be developed by most teachers and trainers on a try-out basis.

Summary Statement

This paper has attempted to summarize the results of several years of experimenting with role-playing or "reality-practice" as an educational method. It has been found applicable to a wide variety of teaching and training situations in classrooms, adult education groups, rehabilitation centers, teacher training courses and leadership training institutes. On exploring the relevance of this method to the present day educational situation we have noted that:

1. There is a much needed educational trend in classroom practice toward: (a) using actual group experiences as a functional basis for teaching; (b) paying more attention to interpersonal relationships of classmates in grouping procedures for selecting participants in a learning situation; (c) developing techniques for creating the appropriate "group social and emotional atmosphere" for effective learning; (d) recognizing the need to teach skills and attitudes rather than "items of knowledge".

2. A number of important questions must be asked and answered by the teacher or trainer before he can select the appropriate teaching procedure to realize a specific educational objective, e. g., questions concerning "need sensitivity", the initial starting point of the group embarking on a learning experience, the "ego effect" implications of a specific learning experience for the learner, etc.

3. Training research now in progress has shown the necessity of putting greater emphasis upon several phases of the teaching sequence, particularly (a) "complacency-shaking" as a basis for setting up a need to learn; (b) providing the group with shared experiences as a basis for concrete verbalizing of principles, as a common basis for constructing meaningful abstractions; (c) creating an atmosphere of interpersonal friendliness and intellectual objectivity and stimulating group self-awareness as a medium for "deep learning"; (d) provide intimately supervised tryout, practice, and re-practice for each learner as a part of the functional learning experience.

A description of a specific teaching sequence was presented, illustrating and discussing the stages of: (1) need sensitizing; (2) warm-up of a group to a role-playing situation; (3) effective observation of the spontaneous drama by the audience-group; (4) use of the followup discussion and evaluation period; (5) methods of repeating the dramatic episodes as a technique for supervised guiding of improvement in performance.

A final word to teachers and trainers pointed out some of the functions of the teacher-director in conducting the spontaneous reality-practice episodes in their classrooms.

There is of course great need for further research on the dynamics and

educational results of this type of educational procedure in many areas of education. In this case the experimentalist must also be the practitioner—a necessity on most of the frontiers of social-psychological research today.

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PSYCHODRAMA IN THE SCHOOLS

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Many school procedures are based on direct or indirect character training. Direct training with its rules and commandments has been used profitably for children up to their teens. Older children do not want to be preached at. Indirect training is more like the way of life. It should supplement direct procedures. It relies on situations—controlled and uncontrolled—and on pupil's experiences from which each can draw his own conclusions. Its weakness has been the lack of a unified curriculum as it depends on class situations and teacher awareness of life goals. But incidental instruction becomes accidental instruction. Besides, mistakes in multiplication and reading are more immediate worries than pupil goals and attitudes.

Is there any way of combining the advantages of direct and indirect training? Can we prepare a curriculum of personality training that will not flatten out into moralizing? Can we regularly carry out a program of personality adjustment, over a period of many years, that applies to our children's specific and long term needs?

We believe we have one of the answers in Psychodramatics. Psychodramatics may start with class participation, but it needs the follow-up of some individual treatment for a few pupils. In our work, the individual training was based on Individual Psychology.

Some aspects of psychodramatics are not new in education. The influence of Rousseau and Pestalozzi lives in our nursery and kindergartens. Dr. Moreno says, "The only educational set-up which can be considered as a psychodramatic clinic in an embryonic fashion is the nursery school. When psychodramatic concepts will be fully understood and fully applied, nursery schools and kindergartens will be revolutionized in their procedures. It is however most deplorable that even these rudiments of psychodramatic education are cut off branch and root, the instant the child enters grade school. Psychodramatic implications in the educational process vanish the higher up the pupil moves in his academic studies. The result is an adolescent confused in his spontaneity and an adult barren of it. A continuity of the kindergarten principle throughout our whole educational system, from first grade to the university, can be secured by the psychodramatic approach to educational and social problems. Every public school, high school and college should have a psychodrama stage as a guidance laboratory

for their everyday problems. Many problems which cannot be adjusted in the classroom itself can be presented and solved before the psychodramatic forum especially designed to such tasks."*

In this paper we are describing our work with a special class of 18 mal-adjusted boys. Ten were confirmed truants and four were infantile. Some were petty thieves or pickpockets. Others were aggressive, while a few gained respect or covered an unpleasant situation with vicious tantrums. A survey of these 18 boys showed:

I.Q.	Simon-Binet Revised Test
91-100	3
81- 90	8
71- 80	7
	18

Every one of them was retarded in school work, particularly in reading and arithmetic. In general they were children who couldn't take the daily grind of school life. Too discouraged to keep on trying, they lost their tempers, fought, some stole, many played truant; they did everything but their school jobs. They wanted to be significant without earning such a position. None seemed to have the power to discipline himself. They sought a false security in aggression, chiseling, and other forms of escape.

In order to outflank prevailing mistakes, we decided to organize a curriculum illustrating the following principles:

1. Acceptance of life's responsibilities and of blame for failures.

Fighting, stealing, defying teachers and parents, breaking out into temper tantrums, were tricks of those who couldn't do their work. When they quarreled, fought, ran out of the room etc., they were not brave but simply afraid. They quit, they couldn't "take it."

Everyone must do things he doesn't like. "Have to's" are more important than "want to's." Everyone runs up against tough spots. Everyone must learn from mistakes. Early in life one must learn to overcome obstacles and defeats. Thus they do not have to wait till they land in prison to learn that they are not unique.

2. Love your neighbor code.

Our pupils lack these beliefs. Therefore the term's work will be based

*See, J. L. Moreno, "Sociometry in Action," *Sociometry*, Volume 6, No. 3, 1942.

on these specific principles and weaknesses. Then maybe our children might learn to accept services for others,

1. Through the character rôle he will play, in original classroom dramas, both as a catharsis of action and a more useful goal.

2. Through the conscious struggle toward this new goal in class work, pupil relations, school routine and discipline.

3. Through illustration of such living, in parables, stories, suggestion teacher example, and direct instruction.

4. Through the specific application of traits to as many situations as possible.

5. Through the unifying of all qualities as courage, responsibility self-control, in the use made of them. We ask "Courage for what purpose?" We accept one general goal: "I serve God and man for God and man."

✓ The crux of Psychodramatics lies not in the presentation of a situation or a play only, but in the rôle as a means of mental sandpapering, self-expression, and as a guide in character development. At first sight, it may look as if we were putting on plays with a moral in which a selfish boy plays a generous rôle, a cowardly child, a heroic rôle, and so on. This kind of work has value, but we are not doing just that. In the first place we have no set play. Instead we present a situation in the child's life which troubles him and to which he responds inadequately. In the second place, in this extemporaneous play, each one improvises, and usually acts as he would do in real life. Each presents his own self and his own answers, to his specific problem. If he becomes objective, he frequently offers a more courageous solution. In the play the pupils become the cast and the audience. We shall call them by their qualities rather than by their true names. For example—we might call a boy John Doe or by his qualities of truancy and stealing as "Truant thief." Since most of the boys are truants we might use, as their first name, either Truant or merely TR.

LESSON I

1. Tr. Temper Thief would stand for a truant, temper tantrum boy, who is also a petty thief. (When we call a boy a thief in the cast of characters, we do not mean that he is a professional. He may as in this case have occasionally taken small change from other children. In reality we would never label him a thief; but for the convenience of identification in the school plays we use this extreme term).

2. Tr.Q. Pickpocket equals a truant, a quarrel seeker, a pickpocket.
3. Tr. Surly Gamin equals a truant, a sly evasive street gamin.

4. Tr. Rebel equals a truant, a defier of school and parental authority.
5. Tr. Baby equals a truant, a boy entirely indifferent to any school interest, with no sense of responsibility.
6. Tr. Cruel Rebel.
7. Shellshock equals a rather irresponsible, irrepressible hysterical.
8. Lonely artist.

Every one of these has been a failure in reading, composition and arithmetic.

Other characters are Infant Truants, Evasives, Attackers. The cast is fluid in that actors and audience exchange places at any time. The part each actor was given, depended on his own character (2) and it was given for a specific reason.

Shellshock, the irrepressible, usually had parts of teacher, judge etc., rôles that demanded self-discipline, self control, and restraint. Truant Baby was given rôles as father, teacher, conscience etc. Truant Cruel Rebel was given the rôle of Mother. Giving a child a more desirable rôle in life, is in itself insufficient to entirely change his character. Nicholas, the little gangster bully and thief, plays gunman, then Robinhood, and finally an F.B.I. agent, the upholder of the law. But he might use this new F.B.I. rôle and the new behavior merely as a change in strategy to attain his old goal of personal power.

Shellshock, who normally shouts and talks incessantly and jumps around as though wound up, assumes the rôle of teacher, judge etc. But as judge he may still seek the limelight through his silence, low voice, and dignity. Yet, playing a rôle does make a difference. The goal of personal power is diluted with a sense of responsibility and of protection for the law abiding. Changing one's rôle from gangster to F.B.I. agent may

1. Give boy interest in helping, not abusing others.
2. Help him establish approved home, school, and play relationship.
3. Give him something worth struggling for.
4. Give boy (a) a sense of approved power; (b) a feeling of security; (c) a new view and hence, a new goal in life.

Feeling secure, he can begin to think of others, coöperate with them, and give service for them. Thus he may not only somewhat modify his goal, but may even attempt to reach it in more desirable ways. His new guiding image and rôle alter his character and personality just as he colors his new rôle with his original character and personality.

Bearing this in mind, we planned our work. Lesson I aimed at (1) Warming up the pupils to this activity so new to them, and (2) developing

a more objective answer to a common classroom problem. These pupils were undisciplined. Whenever they ran up against a situation that seemed too difficult, many became antagonistic and quarrelsome, some sulked, others neglected their work to walk around the room or to interfere with those who might be working. Some felt self-important through such reactions. Now, in our first lesson, we did not hope to cure these unsatisfactory responses; however we did hope to make the boys recognize the fact that they were not really brave when they quit their job, or substituted disruptive activity for honest effort.

Therefore, we asked the pupils to act out this situation. "Your teacher gives the class a test in arithmetic. One boy finds the test too hard. He feels low, and gets angry. He's the kind of boy who never works too hard. Now suppose you were that boy. Show us what you would do."

Cast: Shellshock—a teacher. Tr. Temper Thief—a pupil. Whenever Tr. Temper Thief found himself in such a situation, he would sulk, scold the teacher as unfair and finally wind up in a brawl with some innocent neighbor.

Characters carefully described the setting. Then the actor teacher wrote the example on the blackboard. But the pupil in spite of his inability to do the work just kept on working as an average child would. Four other boys took this part and still repeated the model behavior. A fifth boy volunteered for this part—Character: Sly Defiant. He looked at the examples, tried to do them, stopped, threw down his pencil, and sulked.

We then asked, "Whose act did you like best?"

Answer: Sly Defiant.

"But he quit, didn't he? He wouldn't even try."

"Yeh, he's yellow."

"Yes, quitters are often yellow, but who do you think was most honest?"

"Sly Defiant. He was honest enough to show he quit. The others faked it."

The boys enjoyed this session. We made no further attempt to point a moral, but we aimed at spoiling the satisfaction they found in trouble-making as a compensation to a feeling of inadequacy. We hoped ultimately to develop the following objective reactions:

1. Less and less respect for the disturber.
2. More and more self restraint for preventing outbursts. Then, the next time a boy lost his temper or quarreled, he might later recall the class decision on such acts, "Yeh, he's yellow. He quit trying." On another such

occasion, he might remember this, while he was carrying on. Ultimately he might think of this before he started out on a rampage. After a while the old rôle of disturber will no longer give him a sense of significance. But all this cannot be accomplished in one session, especially during a warming up period.

LESSON II

It is advisable to choose our situations from the most common experiences of our children, as in home, school and play grounds. Therefore for Lesson II we took the home situation of jealousy due to real or fancied neglect; a number of these pupils resent their mother since *they believe* she prefers another child. This makes for disunity. It interferes with the feeling that the family is a team which functions best when each does his share. But discouraged boys run away from home duties. The regular boy will do his share of housework—even if at times he does so unwillingly. The quarrelsome boy, the “alibi” maker is a poor teammate. The “regular guy” helps his team. With this in mind we presented this problem: “You come home from school. Your mother gives you a job to do; wash the dishes or scrub the floor, etc. While working, you see your mother in the next room. Your baby sister is on her lap. Your mother is making a big fuss over her.”

Question: How would you feel?

Ans. (1) I'd get sore. (2) I'd be burned up.

“Then you see a pie that mother has baked specially for your father. It looks good. You eat it. Then at supper Father asks for the pie. Mother finds it is gone. She blames you. What do you do?”

We selected our characters carefully. Tr. Baby acted the father; Cruel Rebel, the mother; and Tr. Rebel (the pampered non-coöoperative defiant boy) the son;—a responsible job for the irresponsible, a job of service and affection for the non-loving non-conformer. The two law breakers become defenders of the law. But the truant rebel is given a realistic rôle. His actions will now be publicly measured by his fellows. We hope he will be jolted into new conclusions.

The boys got into a huddle and planned the play. Then they very carefully described the setting of one of their homes. This is for the benefit of the actors. Strange to say, this description helps them live their rôle better. The scene was acted. The son when accused, blamed his baby sister. We then asked the class what they would have done if so taken to task by their mother. Four of them said that they too would have made the sister the “goat”; two would have blamed the dog; one the birds; one

would have said to his parents, "Why blame me? I don't know nutting!" Tr. Baby answered, "I was hungry, so what?"

Question: "Why blame the baby? Mother like the baby best, huh?" To show pupils another viewpoint, we asked this of the infantile type boy who said, "No, it ain't that; the baby can't do much. Your mother's got to help it most."

Some resented this interpretation. We asked, "Who can help himself more—your father or the baby? Does your mother put your father on her lap and make a fuss over him, as she does with your sister? (laughter). I suppose your father gets sore when your mother helps sister wash, dress, etc." Laughter: "Oh, he knows better." We praised their wisdom in recognizing that older people need less help, but give more help than babies do.

We then reviewed the answers to the question, "Who ate the pie? We asked, "Which of these boys would you rather have on your baseball team—if they all played just as well—the one who blamed the sister? What might such a boy say if he missed a grounder? A high fly? Can he take the blame? Can he take it?" In this way we discussed all the answers.

Answers: "He took it like a bum." "He took it like a right guy." Their conclusion: "You've got to take it one way or another. You can take it like a bum or a right guy."

Caution—We must avoid showing them up. We must let pupils discuss, argue, and make their own decisions. Avoid moralizing, *i.e.*, avoid drawing conclusions for them.

LESSON III

The boys asked permission to plan and produce their own play. We devoted this session to their play, a comedy, taking off a playground scene.

LESSON IV

From the discussions our pupils have had, we felt that by now they could more intelligently understand the true position of gangsters, thieves, etc., as criminals rather than heroes. Very often a little imitation gangster in his character building course, starts with the rôle of law breaker, then of a Robin Hood and finally of an upholder of the law, as an F.B.I. agent, soldier, or policeman. In some cases we skipped the two intermediary stages and assigned the rôle of law defender to law breakers. We presented the new situation: a hold-up of a grocer.

Cast: Grocer—Tr. Temper Thief; Policeman—Tr. Baby. Policemen—

Tr. Cruel Rebel and Tr. Surly Gamin. Gunmen—Infantile and Tr. Rebel. Judge—Shellshock.

Each part was carefully discussed by the class. Uncontrollable, irrepressible "Shellshock" when asked to rehearse, pounded on the desk and shouted, "Order in the Court." The boys laughed.

We discussed types of rulers and their behavior—as that of King, Judge, Father, etc. Teachers gave imitations of a King as (1) a loud-mouthed childish person, (2) a forceful but quiet spoken ruler of few words. The boys chose the second as the more truly commanding type.

The play was put on. Then we discussed (a) each boy's interpretation of his rôle and (b) the part others would have liked to have played. We asked, "How would you have played the gunman? the mastermind?" Several would have killed the grocer. This was bitterly debated. Others would have slugged him. All their answers were decided on a personal safety basis, rather than on ethical grounds. Hence we asked, "Suppose you were going to the movies. You had 20 cents in your pocket. A big fellow stopped you and took your money away. Then after he got it, he kicked you in the face." Before we could say any more, the boys expressed loud disgust at such unfairness.

The first four sessions were based on standard problems. When this work began, the boys were not prepared to take up actual personal situations. The whole idea was too new, and an analysis of a real specific situation might have been so colored with feelings of anger, fear, etc., as to interfere with objective consideration.

Then, too, in these lessons there was no attempt to force discussions or to drive home the point of the lesson. No matter how insignificant or how important the lesson, we attempted to treat it with a light touch or humorous turn. They were not ready for a too direct approach; the latter would arouse resistance.

But after these sessions in standard situations we felt they were more ready to dramatize experiences that actually had stumped them. Then to consider more fully the point of our lesson, we used the device of a "conscience." We prepared for this by making note of each boy's reactions. For instance, when Shellshocked failed to monopolize the conversation, he sulked and walked away from the rest of the class. This incident became the basis of the next session. In the meantime we asked, "Sometimes after you did something—you weren't so sure it was such a swell thing." Pupils volunteered illustrations. "Like when your Mother asked you to go to the store and you holler and say 'no.' " "Did you have a funny feeling then?

Something that seemed to say things to you?" We received the answers, "You're sorry you didn't do it." "Aw Gee, you could'a helped her."

The name Brains or Conscience was brought out by them, and their special meanings discussed and illustrated. "Who would like to act Mr. Conscience or Mr. Brains?" Two were chosen. Truant Baby and Tr. Cruel Rebel.

LESSON V

As this idea of a Conscience was new to them we held a meeting in my office in reference to parts to be played by Conscience and Brains. We asked, "When you pick a baseball team, did you ever see a boy get sore and walk away?" We discussed the boy's motive for sulking. One said, "Just like Shellshock." "Well, then how can we help him?" They finally decided to talk it over with him in the classroom. (The first class conference, as we will see later, was very crude but effective). During the discussion Tr. Q. Pickpocket came in. Later a mischievous rascal from another class dragged himself in. His teacher said he had annoyed the class by dropping a pencil at regular intervals. But of course he couldn't help it. It kept dropping off his desk.

We assigned Tr. Q. Pickpocket as his Conscience. He understood and discussed his purposes with the culprit. We complimented him on his knowing both the right thing and the other boy. "That boy drops his pencil to be a big shot. What do you do to be a big shot?" Here we reviewed his leaving his seat, walking around the room, pushing and punching other pupils, his incessant restless jumping around. "You act as if you were tied to a string that someone pulled to make you dance."

"A Marionette," said Conscience Tr. Baby. We closed the conversation with this question, "Is this the only way you can be a helpful 'big shot'?"

LESSON VI

In Lesson 4, Shellshock, after he had failed to monopolize the conversation, walked away from the rest of the class. This act of not playing unless one can be the big shot, his doing only what pleases one, became the theme of our new dialogue. Maybe Shellshock and others would realize that in the world there are as many *legitimate* "HAVE TO'S" as "LIKE TO'S." We appointed two Consciences. After discussing the situation we asked Tr. Baby and Shellshock to continue this discussion. Tr. Baby said, "You left your seat."

Shellshock: "Yes, he wouldn't look at me."

Conscience: "So what, you're not the only one in the room."

Shellshock: "Well, if he ain't gonna look at me, I get sore."

Conscience: "Thought you were a big shot—walking away. You can't take it. There are 17 other guys in the room, but you must talk all the time. Give another fellow a chance."

Shellshock: "So what?"

Here we changed Conscience.

New Conscience: "So what, eh? Well, you're not the only guy in the room."

Shellshock: "So what?"

Conscience: "Big shot, eh? You gotter have more chance than anyone else. If you ain't the whole show you can't take it."

So far we let the thought of each lesson speak for itself. Now we felt the boys were ready for home assignments on principles of behavior. Of course, we made this homework as concrete as possible. Therefore we asked, "What tricks do some boys use when they can't take it? When they are afraid they'll flop? You know—when they take a test and it's too hard? When they strike out, when they muff an easy fly ball?"

Tr. Cruel Rebel: "You mean when they feel low?"

We wrote the boys' answers on the blackboard as (1) lose temper, (2) get sore, (3) fool with pencil, papers, and books, (4) leave the room. Then we divided their work into three fields, to illustrate what they do when they "feel low."

A. At school. We assigned this topic to the 6th year boys.

B. At home. To the 5th year boys.

C. At play. To the 4th year pupils.

Each one was to bring in as many illustrations as he cared to.

LESSON VII

"Last time each one of you was going to tell or explain what a yellow guy, a 'fraid cat,' a scared boy does. What would you call him? What title would you give our story?" The pupils accepted as a title, "The boy who couldn't take it." They listed such a boy's act under the headings: (A) At school, (B) At home, (C) At play. The pupils decided to write a story, and so developed a class log. This served also as a reading lesson. For homework we assigned the new topic, "How would a right guy act?"

LESSON VIII

We had time only to review discussion No. 7 and to suggest and dramatize more desirable reactions.

LESSON IX

For some prank Tr. Q. Pickpocket was assigned to a corner which the class called the navy yard. In private interview T.Q. Pickpocket was volatile in his protests of being misunderstood and mistreated by all, but in the classroom he was sullenly mute. He never defended himself before the class. He took little or no part in class discussions. To get him to speak up before an audience we resorted to a variant of the Conscience or Auxiliary Ego technique. Here we must avoid deepening the boy's feeling of mistreatment. Of course, we had a distinct advantage. We had known each pupil in the class for over a year. We worked with them on shop projects, had given them individual remedial work, established a friendship with each child. Furthermore the class teacher knew our plans and understood our purpose.

Therefore we felt free to ask the boy about his being in the corner, about his teacher, etc. As he did not answer we asked the class, "Who thinks he can tell the class how T.Q. Pickpocket feels about the teacher or about his being in the corner?"

Tr. Surly Gamin talked aloud for Tr. Q. Pickpocket. When Surly complained about the teacher, "She always picks on me; I didn't punch Francis, I pushed him. I hate that teacher." Tr. Q. Pickpocket denied that he pushed Francis or hated his teacher; he gave his version. Then the class acted the situation. When Tr. Q. Pickpocket still denied the purpose shown in the play, Mr. Conscience stepped in and helped to expose his motives, as along the lines shown in other discussions.

SUMMARY OF TECHNIQUES IN LESSONS 7, 8, AND 9

1. The rôle.
 - A. Lesson No. 9. Tr. Q. Pickpocket's rôle.
2. Interpretation of behavior (exposure of motives).
 - A. Discussion—The boy who couldn't take it.
 - B. Tr. Q. Pickpocket Play.
 - C. Dialogue between Conscience and Tr. Q. Pickpocket.
3. Guide to better behavior.
 - A. Home assignment and class discussions—"How a right guy acts."
4. Application of traits to specific situations in as many fields as possible. See study of acts at home, at play, etc.—as in 2A and 3A.

LESSON X

The class was asked to write a play on how a right guy acts. The following were chosen as actors: Tr. Temper Thief, Surly Gamin, Tr. Rebel, Tr. Baby, Tr. Cruel Rebel. The actors go out to write their play and study their part. A quarrel takes place. When the teacher blamed Tr. Temper Thief, he yelled, "You always blame me." When his teacher tried to stop his scoldings he ran out of the room and came to me. He was gritting his teeth and crying with anger. I kept him waiting till I had finished the interview with another boy. Tr. T. Thief complained of unfair treatment. While the boys were discussing the play, he said, they had discovered a cache of "Comics." Their wild rush and yells brought in the teacher who blamed the complainant.

We said, "I'm sorry for you, Tr. T. T. You got yourself in a jam and you want me to get you out of it. Aren't you big enough to fix up your own troubles without crying for help? Think you can still do so?" "I wasn't the only one."

"Now you're fair enough to say you're to blame as well as the others. Can you take it for what you did?"

"Yeah."

"Well then, I believe you can fix it up for yourself. Think you can tell your teacher about your share of the blame? Or do you want me to take you by the hand and speak for you?" He then settled the matter by himself.

LESSON XI

The boys then dramatized this incident. Tr. Rebel took the part of Tr. Temper Thief. The latter saw his own behavior as it appeared to himself and to others and he didn't seem so proud of his actions. Then the class put on the same situation to show how a right guy would take it. Thus the boys had a specific illustration of what to do in a decent way when the going gets tough. However their standard was too high and was criticized "That's all right for your father and mother but not for us." Therefore another play was planned—to indicate alternate acts.

1. Should the accused take the blame or snitch on his friends, *i.e.*, should he say, "You always pick on me. The other fellows did it too."

2. Should the other boys let him be the goat? If not what could or should they do? This assignment was broken up to cover various fields and situations.

Before explaining the next phase, let us review some of our steps.

I. Presentation of Standard situations and problems with pupil exchange of opinions and experiences—Lessons I-IV.

- II. Presentation of actual specific problems—Lessons V-VII.
- III. Home assignment of undesirable reactions—Lessons VI-VII.
- IV. Home assignment of desirable activities—Lessons VII-XI.

LESSON XII

By this time we were ready to dramatize positive attitudes to various real situations and experiences. Through repetition in this preparatory phase, the participants avoid the anxiety that may assert itself in the actual life setup. For instance, a boy is reported by a monitor for breaking a school rule. His resentment of the monitor's warning led to a squabble. For us the topic was "cheerful response to rules." We began by saying that on the way to school that morning we heard a policeman blow his whistle and saw him wave a passing car to the side walk. We asked, what do you think might have happened? They all gave examples of some traffic violation. To our remark, "Well what difference does it make if he does pass red lights or goes too fast?" we received answers that would have satisfied the strictest safety advocate. To our suggestion, that perhaps the driver—right or wrong—should argue with a policeman, even threaten and abuse him, we heard from the boys: "He'd be a dope, a sucker," etc.

We carried this incident over to school life. In all travels through the building, as in fire drills, air raid drills, to and from the assembly and basement, our pupils recognize the importance of silence as a safety factor. Therefore we chose the case of a boy talking on a stairway on the class's return to the room after lunch. A monitor was to remind such a boy to stop. The offender was to take the reminder or rebuke pleasantly, keeping in mind the monitor's duty. Tr. Temper was chosen to act the part of offender. There were four attitudes to which he was to respond pleasantly.

Scene 1. We whispered to the monitor, "When Tr. Temper talks just put your finger over your mouth as a warning."

Scene 2. Whispered instructions to Monitor. "When he talks, say 'Stop talking, Truant.' "

Scene 3. Whispered instructions. "When he talks say, 'Hey, what's the matter with you. Stop your talking.' "

Scene 4. The monitor's instructions: "Be still more disagreeable, in fact, even mean."

To the different types of monitors the offender is asked to take the rebuke pleasantly. Of course he does not hear the whispered instructions to the various monitors. At Scene 3 Tr Temper became indignant,

started to quarrel, but was interrupted by the amusement of the class and their comment of, "What's the matter, can't you take it?" Even at Scene 4, after they were partially prepared for a harsh monitor, one boy was unable to be polite and obedient. Variations of this setup were played. Later we were to take up the proper attitude of the monitor in several variations of the same situation pattern.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Surely no reader confuses this work with lessons in manners, as how to take a lady across the street, etc. In the dramatizations on etiquette at the table and in society we are concerned with motor skills, or with fixed and set actions. In our work we are dealing with attitudes, qualities and purposes. In a lesson on manners, we may show a boy how to tip his hat, or how to address elders. In our work we hope to develop proper attitudes and feelings towards elders, towards juniors, towards the opposite sex, etc. Then desirable action is more likely to be the outcome. Moreno, writing on the advantages of the psychodrama says, "As the acting was pure improvisation, the performance was a yardstick of how they might perform in life situations. But whereas conduct in a life situation is irrevocable, here every phase of performance is open to correction through criticism made by the other participants, the instructor, and the subject himself."*

Many things which one boy would not tell a teacher or even another boy, he "will tell in these plays and the humor of it may heal many potential grievances and conflicts. The subject is trained through acting in the simplest of rôles in any specific situation pattern, through several degrees of differentiation of the same situation pattern until he can command the pattern adequately; he also trains in many different situation patterns."**

The advantages of such training are obvious for in actual life experiences "an individual often has difficulty in learning from a mistake due to the earnestness of the situation. In his anxiety he may repeat such error when a similar occasion occurs, thus retarding his learning to overcome the error."

Furthermore our children can receive training in getting along with those persons they cannot normally adjust to.

*Moreno, J. L., M.D. *Who Shall Survive?* Quotes & Summary. Pages 325-326, etc., 1934.

***Ibid.*

SUMMARY

Thus in five weeks we conducted 12 lessons—some were based on actual situations in the classroom—some were planned because of pupil environment and misbeliefs. All aimed at giving the boys a new insight at developing more desirable goals of significance and self discipline. They were supplemented with several private interviews. These were not as casual as we made them appear. These twelve lessons in February and March provided teacher and pupils with a common ground, or viewpoint on values and behavior. Was any change noted? Yes, a definite one. In general, though most of the boys were truants, the class finally had the best attendance record in the first six years of the school. They became a team with pride in useful accomplishment. Moreover we can point to specific cases.

Case I

Tr. Temper Thief was stubborn, defiant and insolent. He worked when he felt like it. But if angered, he'd walk out of the room. In a temper tantrum, he'd throw books at pupils as well as teachers. He'd lie and blame others. Once in a prankish mood, on a bitter cold day, he set off the fire alarm. The pupils left the building without their street clothes. On that day, we had a visitor, our Assistant Superintendent.

After he owned up to his stunt, we became careless and said something we shouldn't have said. The only one in his family who he felt backed or protected him, was his father. The father accused the mother and other children of picking on our little friend. His father was his Rock of Gibraltar. Thoughtlessly we told him we would send for his father. He was not ready for such a trial. At this, he stamped out of the room in a rage. We didn't accept his challenge (his defiance was an attempt to show his superiority). Sometime later in the morning while visiting his official classroom, a little girl came in and said to me, "Tr. T. T. told me to tell you, 'Don't try to chase me. You'll never catch me.'" Later as we stepped out of the room, we saw him waiting for us. When he made sure that we saw him, he ran. He felt quite brave. We just said, "If I were as scared as you, I would run away, too."

He stopped and then ran up the stairs. He waited for me at the head of the stairs. I said, "You're scared, aren't you. If you keep running, you can go only two flights more. But if you're going home, come on down and get your coat. It's cold today. No use catching a cold." But of course he had to be master of the situation, so he answered, "I'll get it later, not now." He was going to do it when he felt like it.

When he began to play truant we transferred him to this special class. Though after several individual interviews he became less frequent and less intense in his outbursts, he still was an explosive factor. Ordinarily we would have continued the individual talks for many weeks. Instead, we began the group work. During this period we had only one or two occasions to speak to him privately.

During the last two months of the term, not once did he run out of the room, threaten his teacher, or steal—even though he had found himself in humiliating situations and had been rebuked by his teacher. True, he had sulked, but he enjoyed no nasty temper tantrums. He even helped others in class work. At the end of the term, the teacher gave him first prize as the one who had made the most improvement in character.

Case II

Unwashed Tr. Surly Gamin was in an apparently apathetic and passive way, uncooperative and even defiant. His home duties, he complained, made school homework impossible. He was habitually tardy and absent, but, "It ain't my fault. I had to help my mudder (brother, father, etc.)." Indistinctly, he muttered these and other excuses out of the corner of his mouth. Rarely did a smile light the sullen mask of his face.

You may recall that with Case I, the individual session preceded the group psychotherapy; but with Case 2 (Tr. Surly Gamin) individual treatment was used to reinforce group work. After a few interviews he began to smile, to open his mouth, and unlimber his lips while speaking. When he became aware of his tricks, his evasions and their purpose, when he realized we knew their value to him, he became openly defiant in our private interviews—for a short time only. But he, too, at the end of the term received a prize for (a) improved appearance (b) improved work and excellent attendance (c) good homework, regularly completed.

We lack the space to present other cases but the fact remains that after less than two dozen interviews (class plus *private*), not only did many pupils show better attitudes and relations to classmates, but class attendance, work, and self-discipline improved markedly. No twenty-four individual treatments could have led or jolted so many boys as well as an entire group on to the road of better goals.

Of course we do not claim that these eighteen boys were completely cured. But we do believe, judging from their improved behavior and better attitudes, that they were on the road to more desirable goals which they felt were worthwhile. If such a program or any equally concrete program

could be carried over the entire educational period the school might become a real factor in personality adjustment. Psychodramatics makes use not only of group psychology but also of (1) all the accepted direct and indirect techniques of group training and (2) individual interviews.

Of course direct technique—so valuable in the first 8 or 9 years of life—supply the information, the commandments, and the knowledge of goals of life. After this period, indirect methods become the basis of Personality Training. In school, they make use of:

1. Each subject.
2. School routine.
3. All instructional activity.
4. Every life situation.

Why? For their effect on the development of pupil work habits, attitudes and purposes.

Through suggestion and example, teachers have rightly made adults like themselves, parents, and historical heroes, the object of imitation for children. Yet the latter just as readily imitate both those with whom they play and live and their heroes of self-chosen literature. Therefore, the character of children as well as their common problems, should be objects of imitation and subjects of psycho-drama and discussions. Such discussions aim at insight through understanding.

Psychodramatic work must be based on the peculiar needs of the class. It should be organized into a flexible curriculum with specific goals arising from the weaknesses of our pupils. Through carefully chosen dramatic rôles, the psychodrama provides children with an emotional and behavior outlet, and sometimes with a desirable goal.

In addition, from each lesson and play the boy should:

1. Find some rôle that can become his guiding image.
2. Have a chance to play that rôle, to give his interpretation of it and his purpose in that part.
3. Have the opportunity to discuss several alternate actions, as in the grocery hold-up, in order to discover principles of useful behavior.
4. Have a chance to apply any traits important to his chosen rôle to as many situations and fields of behavior as possible.
5. Learn to exercise his best potentials for the benefit and development of others, as well as for his own benefit.

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PSYCHODRAMA AND SOCIAL CASE WORK

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This paper is one outcome of a summer spent at the Psychodramatic Institute, Beacon, New York, observing the application of psychodramatic theory to the treatment of psychotic patients, and considering how these same theories and techniques could be applied in other fields. The two areas of social work, the writer's field and special interest, to which they are most applicable are in the direct treatment of clients and in the training of social workers and it is to those two areas that attention will be directed.

The most important fact about psychodrama is that it makes a complete break with the tradition in which social case work has developed and in particular makes use only in slight degree of the interview, which has been the chief treatment technique of case work.

It does not stem from the closely related patterns of priest-communicant or doctor-patient interaction from which case workers have derived their present techniques. It was developed in the theatre rather than in the confessional or the office. Its techniques are essentially group techniques, which yet provide for person-to-person interaction. Its goal is specifically therapeutic rather than generally social. Present case work methods have proved markedly successful in a wide range of cases but social workers would be the first to admit that many people and many areas of their lives, classed as untreatable, are so merely because the techniques available to case workers are not adapted to their treatment. It is for that reason that experimentation with new techniques fundamentally different from those now in use, is suggested in the hope that it might lead to a decrease in the number of clients who reject case work help which they need but cannot accept in its present forms. Also experimentation should prove stimulating to both sides through cross-fertilization.

The functions of direct treatment as social work literature analyzes them are diagnosis, interpretation, counselling and therapy, or, in one's private world self-understanding, self-acceptance and self-direction plus a fuller life in the world of external experience. Its two aspects are the treatment relationship and the treatment interview. The first difficulty that the case worker meets is that there are many people in need of the help which she is qualified to give but with whom she cannot enter into a treatment relationship. Sometimes they are too inarticulate to be reached by

words alone. Or they have been socially so deprived as children that they have never developed the capacity for intimate personal relationships. Or they have been so hurt that they are afraid of any interaction that savors of intimacy. Sometimes they are culturally blocked from confidence in that category of human beings labelled social workers and sometimes worker and client just do not click.

Psychodrama avoids that difficulty, in part, by not always requiring that a treatment relationship exist between any two individuals. The client must, of course, accept treatment before it can be given but he need not necessarily associate that treatment with any real person. The individuals with whom he comes in contact may remain merely actors on the stage with no personal lives of their own, who by reason of their anonymity do not threaten to intrude upon his privacy. In part, psychodrama obviates the difficulty because it is easier for the client to enter into treatment relationships with fellow actors after the play is over.

Psychodrama offers many advantages in fulfilling the functions that case work sets for itself. It makes possible a much clearer understanding of personality patterning than an interview can possibly do except for the most articulate of clients and the most highly sensitized of interviewers. A person's actions and his description later of those actions belong to different categories of vividness and accuracy. The stage permits a reconstruction of past scenes, showing all the actors, at least as the client saw them, as well as the client himself. The acting brings back memories that no verbalization would recall. The client is much more in control of an interview than of a play and unconsciously reveals much in acting than he would block from expression in talking.

Also on the stage he may make clear to the audience what he could never describe because he was ignorant of what happened.* An interesting illustration was of a young man who told us that a certain doctor had "done him wrong," behind his back. He could not tell us what the wrong was because he did not know. By a careful reconstruction of the scene in the doctor's office, we discovered that the doctor had taken a sample of his blood for routine laboratory testing but, fearing that the lad would faint at the sight of blood, had ordered him not to look. It was possible to relieve a three-year-old anxiety in regard to that particular event, as could never have been done if we had been restricted to the interview technique for the exploration of what actually happened. There must be other sophisticates who build up terrors around similar procedures of modern civilization, which they do not understand and which they could not possibly explain.

Much more significant was the understanding given in a marriage-relation tangle, where both persons were willing to act together. Especially was it true of the woman, that all that was meaningful in the course of her past life in her relationships with her family and with the men who had entered her social *atom*, was compressed into a few hours and made strikingly clear. The changes in the relationship between the two could be traced from period to period and future alternatives of life together and apart were explored as they could never have been in one-dimensional interviews. As this case also illustrates, while psychodrama does not necessarily solve the problem of several clients in one family, it often does succeed in treating the relationship rather than the individual. If the family members cannot be brought to act together, one may be put on the stage and the others treated through being in the audience.

Both interpretation and counselling may be facilitated by psychodramatic techniques. The case worker is often blocked in interpretation, either because it is almost impossible to put meanings into words that will convey those same meanings to a client, or because a client cannot accept an understanding of his real motives from some other person. Many things become clear to a client both about himself and about the other people in his social atom, through drama, which combines dialog with gross bodily movements and an uninhibited expression of emotions, which he could never understand through words alone. The insight often comes directly out of the acting, it does not seem to be mediated through another person and therefore can be accepted without destructive effects upon the client's personality. In addition, a great deal of counselling can be incorporated into the drama. A client will take as an actor in a rôle from another actor advice that he could not take in ordinary person-to-person interaction.

It is in therapy, however, that psychodrama has its main contribution to make to case work techniques. One of Moreno's favorite terms is *catharsis*. He started with Aristotle's idea of catharsis as release of emotions taking place within an audience watching a play, and came to see that, under certain conditions, a more effective catharsis could take place within the actors themselves. By placing psychotics on the stage, he found that he could drain off the excess emotions which had previously found expression in psychotic behavior and thus enable them to follow more normal behavior patterns. What is true of psychotics is equally true of less emotionally disturbed persons.

One element in psychodramatic theory is that there are certain key situations either in the past or the future which are overweighted emotionally.

If these can be mastered so that the client is able to face the memory or the anticipation of such situations without undue emotion then he will be able to function normally in all life situations. One simple illustration of the mastery of future key situations will serve to indicate what is meant. The patient was a German refugee, a married woman, who was so overcome with anxiety at the idea of shopping and keeping house in America, that she resorted to psychotic behavior to escape from the necessity for adjustment to a foreign language and strange customs. On the stage she shopped daily in English for the necessities of life. Eventually her command of English and of the situations in which she expected to find herself was such that she no longer needed a psychosis to protect herself and she is today a very happy and successful American housewife.

The social worker has only one method of dealing directly with such key situations. She has come through experience to realize that catharsis often follows the describing of some past disturbing event or discussing some future dreaded situation with a third person who is non-judgmental in attitude and is felt by the narrator to be sympathetic and understanding. To the psychodramatist the verbalization of such a situation is a one-dimensional portrayal of it. His contention is that if his client is a man who has had a humiliating quarrel with the relief office, or a mother who is having trouble with her son, or a child who has been sent home from school in disgrace, there is a more complete catharsis if the unpleasant experience is acted out with the worker taking one of the rôles, than if the experience is merely described. Acting permits bodily movements which offer a greater relief from tension than talking alone. It also allows a more exact repetition of the original emotional states and, particularly if the scene is gone through several times, a draining from it of its over-weighted significance. In cases where the ego has been seriously injured, the sympathetic understanding of that injury by a group seems to offer more vindication than a single person can. The client may also be led to re-evaluate his own emotions if in acting out the key situations of his life, he plays not only his own part but at times the parts of the other actors in those situations. These are merely suggestions of what may be happening so far as the inner states of the individual are concerned. The problems involved in catharsis urgently demand continued scientific study.

Therapy should also lead to a fuller life, in the real world if that is possible, in some private world if satisfying contact with reality cannot be established. With those psychotics who are unable to recross the invisible line that divides sanity from illusion, that private world must be supported

and enriched, if it is not to collapse into dementia. But even so-called normal persons find the deprivation imposed by the modern world so difficult to escape and so hard to bear, that they have to find some of their satisfactions in a world of make-believe. The psychodramatist sees it as one of his two main functions in relation to that auxiliary world which the deprived person has had to construct for himself, not only to support it but to enrich its quality and to increase its ability to satisfy, by adding to it elements out of his own experience. His other main function is, if it can be achieved, to bring that private universe into balance again with the public universe. The person who has a varied and satisfying inner experience, is fortified against feeling too strongly the pinch of circumstance and is thus prepared to make the most of the little happiness that life offers. In addition, the spontaneity which psychodrama develops in the individual, carried over into his social relationships, awakens new responses which are of themselves gratifying. The most successful treatment would be one in which make-believe and reality can be merged at a new and more satisfactory level.

To cite just one illustration, a young adolescent of limited intelligence, was forced to work out his inner drives in delinquent behavior. The stage was sufficient compensation for his keenly felt deprivations to permit him to dispense with delinquency. There is every indication that the social ability which guided play-acting is developing in him, will in time serve to compensate for his limited intellectual equipment and will permit him to make a successful adjustment even to our highly competitive society.

One way of comparing the techniques of psychodrama and social work is to contrast the meaning of the *professional self* as it has been developed in social work literature with the ideas associated with the *auxiliary ego* of Moreno's terminology. No extremely compressed and simplified statement can, of course, be true, but, if I understand social work theory correctly, the goal of training for treatment is to develop one rôle, which is consistent in character and thoroughly integrated with the personality of the social worker, so that her behavior is always predictable. Or to put the matter differently, the social worker is trained to follow a certain well defined pattern of professional behavior. This limitation of the social worker's ability to adapt to her clients is then rationalized as in itself educational. If the client can make use of that professional self, well and good. If he cannot, then he is classed as untreatable. Psychodrama offers the possibility of reducing the number of untreatable situations and persons by

introducing a much greater flexibility into the training and behavior of the professional self in the performance of its treatment functions.

Moreno has coined the term, *auxiliary ego*, for the person professionally trained in psychodramatic techniques to be used by the director of a therapeutic theatre for exploration, treatment and research in the field of interpersonal relations. The auxiliary ego differs from the present professional self of the social worker in that he is trained not for a single standardized rôle but for as wide a range of rôles as his personality will permit. The trained social worker, according to theory, ought to ask herself, "Is this behavior in accord with the pattern of my professional self?" The auxiliary ego is expected to think: "Is this behavior what my client needs at the moment?" He is not hampered by the requirement of consistency in overt behavior. There is consistency in that, behind the professional acting of a great variety of rôles, there is a professional mind observing and directing that acting in response to trained sensitivity to the client's changing needs. Into case records today, there creeps again and again a note of apology. "I am acting thus because such behavior is helpful to this client at this stage, but it is not professional social work behavior and, as soon as I can, I shall re-assume my professional rôle." The auxiliary ego needs never be ashamed of any pattern of behavior which furthers a client's development.

It is perhaps not an exaggeration to say that one difference between the professional self and the auxiliary ego is that the former is trained to a greater extent negatively. The social worker is taught, as she should be, to keep her private personality out of her professional work. She is taught not to judge, not to dominate, not to act for her client, and as a result she is often afraid to take any positive part in the therapeutic process. The auxiliary ego on the other hand, is trained both in warming up the patient who is being treated, and in guiding by variations in his own behavior, the patient's behavior along therapeutic lines. He is expected to play a better defined and more active part in therapy. The professional social worker in real life situations cannot, of course, play as wide a range of rôles as an auxiliary ego in the therapeutic theatre or the mental hospital. Her official position sets definite limits to what she can and cannot do, but within those limits a rather wide variety of behavior patterns is available. Psychodramatic theory would encourage the development of much greater flexibility of behavior in the social worker than is permitted by present theories and would thus enable her to function in situations in which today she is helpless.

There is another type of advantage that psychodrama has over the

present interpretation of the meaning of case work. In the first place treatment is not so completely the prerogative of the worker. The psychodramatist plans to make therapeutic use of non-professionals. One psychotic may often receive from another psychotic help which he cannot get from a sane person. Hospitals for the mentally ill could not function if this were not so. In the same way, clients can treat each other often more successfully than any case worker. But the theory of case work is only with difficulty being stretched to permit such coöperative forms of treatment. Psychodrama would add its pressure to that of group work in making case work theory and practice more elastic. In addition, the psychodramatist realizes as clearly as the case worker that the help he can give is limited in time, but he realizes also that some of the specialized techniques that he practices may be learned by lay persons and applied to the continuing of treatment which he has started.

Whether psychodrama is accepted or not for experimentation in the treatment of clients, it has, I believe, a significant contribution to make in an entirely different area, that of the *training of social workers*. Here I should like to start with a reference to Mrs. Sheffield's *Social Insight in Case Situations*, a book which has not had the influence which it deserves. The central point in her thinking is that social work will never become scientific until the various type situations which a social worker meets have been described and an element of repetitive experience is brought into their treatment. Her approach through type situations seems to me essentially sound but her difficulty lies in the fact that she is working in the wrong medium and in a flat surface rather than in dimensioned space. Social work has to be learned in action rather than words and the situation with which the social worker has to deal is one which includes herself. Training for social work is rather like learning to drive a car. It is not enough to have an intellectual appreciation of what driving a car means, nor is it enough to be able to analyze the other fellow's driving at an intersection without taking one's own action into account.

But the main argument of the psychodramatist is with present methods of training. Very rarely is it safe just to describe to a beginner the handling of a car and then let him drive off, learning through hit and run methods the proper techniques. Instead he is put into controlled situations and set to practicing the manipulation of himself in relation to a car, until starting, stopping and gear-shifting become second nature. So the embryonic case worker should have a chance to habituate herself to starting, stopping and shifting gears before she is put into her first interview. In addition

there are many things which the student never learns in the individualized methods of dealing with the behavioral adjustments to professional norms.

The technique which psychodrama has evolved for such a training process has been termed the *standard situation*. Moreno has made considerable experimentation in its use. I shall describe the way in which such training might be set up for social workers. Case records would be studied and from them would be selected by a process of trial and error, ten or a dozen standard situations which had been proved through testing to have the greatest value for the training of first year social work students. At the earliest possible moment after school began, half the first year students would be assembled in a small theatre and the other half would be on call outside. On the stage would be a person especially trained for this kind of work. She would have a very simple situation selected and know exactly how to present it. As the first student from outside came on the stage, the trained worker would begin to act, perhaps the part of a woman whose husband had died a few weeks before and who had to apply for relief but was afraid and ashamed to do so. She would present her rôle in the simplest possible fashion and then respond spontaneously but in character, as the student developed the situation until the latter was ready to end it. Then the next student would be called in from outside and the opening gambit would be repeated in the same fashion as before and again the trained worker would follow the second student in her response. Two recorders would be present, one to take down the entire dialogue and the second all other significant data so that both the case supervisor and the student would have the record to which to refer later. When the last student had gone through a situation that started identically in each case, the supervisor would analyze with extreme care the part played by each student, showing what was good and what was clumsy and inept. Then the audience and actors would change places and a second situation would be gone through.

The advantage in this type of training, as supplementary to that now given, are numerous. Instead of a verbalized preparation for actual case work, the stage offers a setting which resembles reality fairly closely. Going through a certain number of standard situations would rob a student of the fear with which she is apt to approach her first case and would give her a certain familiarity with the mechanical parts of any interview. But the training avoids the pitfall of setting her a stereotyped pattern that must be remembered and followed. In fact by the time she has seen a number of people deal with one situation she will have learned once and for all that

there is no stereotyped reaction to a human situation. Instead the acting will increase her spontaneity, her sensitivity to the other person acting in the situation, her ability to respond quickly and easily to changes in mood and thinking as they take place in that person. On the other hand this method of training should lessen the wide divergence between good and bad casework by providing a behavioral norm by which the apprentice can measure much more exactly than she can at present her own professional behavior.

Another great advantage that this type of training gives is to the case supervisor. For each of her students she has the stenographic record of how she acted in five or six standard situations. That is enough to give any supervisor a great deal of insight into the personality of the student and an indication of any personality problems that might block her success as a social worker. She will have a good idea of the kind of work for which the student is fitted, her special strengths and weaknesses and the points which her training should emphasize. Similar tests given to second year students would enable them to measure their own performance against that of other members of the class, as well as permitting the supervisor to check upon the results of the school's training and to secure additional data to be used as the basis for recommendations to positions.

Ideally of course the theatre would be used not only for such contrived training of apprentices but also for the actual treatment of clients, which trainees could observe and in which they could soon take active part. My own brief experience at Beacon Hill leads me to think that case workers trained in such fashion would start their professional careers at a point which workers trained by present methods reach only after five, ten or fifteen years of experience, if at all. Just what effect such a group would have on the development of social work is a field for fascinating speculation.

The interest of the social scientist, however, is drawn to the fact that psychodrama offers a new technique for the scientific study of human interaction under controlled conditions. Into a psychodramatic theatre as into a laboratory, adult behavior in situations closely approximating the complexity of real life can be brought for analysis.

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PSYCHODRAMA AND THE AUDIENCE

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THE THERAPEUTIC THEATRE

The psychodrama (6, 7) is a medico-sociologic therapy, but more specifically, a psychotherapy. It arose as a new tool in psychiatry, and it aids in exploring the aberrations of the psyche and in presenting an objective diagnostic constellation to the psychiatrist. Turning from the abnormal, to the normal individual we shall find ourselves with a new method for studying personality.

Our work with the psychodrama was carried on at Beacon, New York, in the therapeutic theatre. This therapeutic theatre, one of the most recent expressions of the idea, is perhaps, the most objective and best equipped laboratory in which to do psychodramatic work. Therefore, it is incumbent on the writer to give a brief description of the physical plan of the theatre.

The theatre is approximately 70 feet long and 25 feet in width. It has a height of about 40 feet. Almost half of the theatre is taken up by the stage. There are three stage platforms in the form of concentric circles. The largest one, about 16 feet in diameter, another platform two feet smaller in diameter and at the top, the main platform which has a diameter of 12 feet. The balcony, 9 feet above the stage, is as long as the width of the theatre, and beginning from the front wall extends 3 feet to a line above the outer rim of the stage. It is supported by two posts which rise from the middle stage, and is railed in. The center of the balcony describes an arc corresponding to that of the stage. Underneath the balcony, just behind the middle stage are two wings about 4 feet long, the left serving as the entrance to the theatre and the right for storage of tables and chairs which may be needed for the plays.

The first row of seats is only two feet from the lowest stage. There are seven rows of ten seats and as many as eighty-five people can be accommodated at one time. At the back of the theatre ten feet above the floor is a small projection booth which contains all the light switches and one spotlight. There are two sets of lights: one above and slightly before

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the balcony and one above and before the top stage. A vivid and variegated lighting scheme is always in effect, the colors used being white, red, blue, green and amber, all rheostatically controlled.

The arrangement of the stages and lights has both a practical and a theoretical value which may become evident as we proceed but now a word or two will suffice.

Practically the design of the stage gives a large area for expressive movements. It facilitates scene setting and is of great suggestive utility. Theoretically the stages may symbolically represent terrestrial or celestial spheres of action. For instance, the balcony, which is really the fourth stage may be used in the case of a person who wishes to play Christ. He acts on the balcony, which represents Heaven, and the rest of the players act on the stage (Earth). Or, reversing the procedure if he wants to play Mephistopheles in Hell, the stage becomes his abode and the rest of the actors play upon the balcony (Earth). Again, in a severe case of feelings of inadequacy the top stage may represent perfection, and so, the actor may start on the lowest stage and gradually reach the top stage.

AUDIENCE AND AUDIO-EGO

The student of the drama well knows that the actor's performance is dependent upon the size and kind of audience attending. So too with the social man, he needs an audience. As James (4), long ago said: "We are not only gregarious animals, liking to be in the sight of our fellows, but we have an innate propensity to get ourselves noticed, and noticed favorably, by our kind. No more fiendish punishment could be devised, were such a thing physically possible, than that one should be turned loose in society and remain absolutely unnoticed by all the members thereof."

When we described the physical setting of the therapeutic theatre we did not emphasize the fact that the audience literally melts into the group of players. This is perhaps the most singular characteristic of the therapeutic theatre and the first clue to the fact that the audience here has a new function.

But first let us use the generalization that Hollingworth (3) makes. He recognizes that the audience can be treated as a unit only in impersonal performances. The audience as a whole is a mere verbal abstraction; actually there are only the separate individuals with their personal behaviors and mutual influences. This is only a casual psychological observation in which first the individual is considered *per se*, and then the audience composed of these individuals. We are not denying the validity of this statement

we only wish to point out that it is an over-simplification. It does not take into consideration the dynamics of inter-personal relations.

Hollingworth however, realized that the term audience is too suggestive of the mass or "all-or-none" quality, so he suggested the term "spectience" to describe this group of individuals. We started independently from a similar premise, that the audience of the psychodrama is not a mass, a whole unity, but is composed of individual units. And because we found that they function as passive auxiliary egos, we called them *audio-egos*. We thought no more of a single "audience" because it implied hearing, listening or attending; because it carried no implication of the tele which is projected from the primary ego to the members of the audience and subliminally or in other ways from the members of the audience to the primary ego or even the auxiliary egos.

When we first conceived the concept of the audio-ego we wanted to find out whether it possessed any ego-quality. And so we reasoned that if it were a part of the auxiliary ego it could function in the same manner, to help the ego warm up. Our results showed us that the most active audio-egos were really passive auxiliary egos and that the most inactive audio-egos possessed no ego quality at all, they were merely spectators, but every audio-ego was at least a potential auxiliary ego.

We looked at the problem from only one angle at first: how does the audio ego affect the primary ego? But when we began to work we found that the primary ego may affect the audio-ego, and that the audio-egos may affect each other. So the audio-ego became a rôle just like the auxiliary ego and the primary ego rôles, but there was to be no prescribed course of action for the audio-ego. The audio-ego became a spontaneous actor. If he felt like leaving the theatre he did so; when he felt like applauding or jeering no one stopped him; sometimes he dozed off; sometimes he carried on a conversation with another audio-ego; but more often he felt himself part of the play as though he were acting but unable to speak. We thought of spectator catharsis; for not only does the play aid the players but it can aid certain members of the audience.

Now we have found constantly a tele relationship between the primary ego and his auxiliary egos. But since all the actors are acquainted with those who become audio-egos for the situation new temporary tele relationships are formed. There is a great deal of difference in the kind of temporary tele projected between two individuals on the stage and between one on the stage and one in the audience. This temporary tele relation be-

tween the actors and the audio-egos we have called *audio-tele*. We shall have occasion to demonstrate its effect later.

So far we have considered the situations from the viewpoints of the primary ego and the auxiliary ego. We have not paid any attention to the audio-ego. Let us take now a situation in which an audio-ego functioned as well as the ego and the auxiliary egos.

The scene is laid in the office of the District Attorney, played by auxiliary ego Mr. B, Mrs. A, playing the ego role, is accused of infanticide. She is brought to the District Attorney with a spying neighbor, Mrs. B, the other auxiliary ego.

(Mrs. B walks in ahead of Mrs. A who appears reluctant about coming onto the stage.)

Mr. B: Sit down ladies. (Both are seated.) Now Mrs. Smith tell me what happened the other day to your baby as clearly as you can remember. If you tell me the truth now, when you are brought to trial we shall be more lenient with you.

Mrs. A: Well, that night while I was giving my baby her daily bath she suddenly slipped out of my hands and before I knew it her face was under the water. I became frantic and started to scream, then I went next door and rang Mrs. Jones' doorbell but she wasn't home.

Mrs. B: She's lying, she didn't ring my bell because I was home and I would have heard her if she did. It wasn't until I went to borrow some flour from her that I discovered she wasn't home and since the door was ajar I went in. Then I heard some muffled cries. I ran through the rooms but by the time I got to the bathroom the cries had stopped. Then I saw her baby, dead; drowned in the bathtub.

Mrs. A (crying bitterly): You rubberneck, you never liked me. You were always envious of my baby and you always tried to cause me trouble.

Mrs. B: That's not true. But suppose you tell the District Attorney where your husband is. I don't even think you have one.

Mr. B: Now, ladies, please. Mrs. Smith, where is your husband? Don't you live together in the same apartment?

Mrs. A: My husband? He . . . he's some place in Philadelphia. I left him when I heard that I was going to have a baby because I felt that it would ruin his career. He doesn't even know that he has a baby.

Mr. B: Haven't you heard from him since then?

Mrs. A: No.

Mrs. B: She's a liar. I saw a letter three weeks ago, postmarked from Philadelphia which he must have sent her.

Mrs. A: You didn't see any letter, you couldn't have, because I never received any.

Mr. B: Just a moment, Mrs. Smith. Where were you married?

Mrs. A: Must I tell?

Mr. B: Yes.

Mrs. A: In Harrison, New York.

Mr. B: Don't believe anything she says. She killed her baby. She killed her. She never liked her and always hit her.

Mrs. A: It's not true. It's a lie, a lie.

Mr. B: Now Mrs. Smith, if you tell me the truth it may go easier with you. Did you kill your baby.

Mrs. A: Oh I can't stand this any more. I'll tell you everything but first you must promise that you'll give me my own home and enough food and clothing for the rest of my life and never to allow me outside of that home.

Mr. B: I promise.

Mrs. A: I killed her, yes, I drowned my baby but not because I didn't love her as Mrs. Jones wants you to believe, on the contrary, I did it because I love her so much, too much to have her suffer as I have done. This world has nothing to offer her.

Mr. B: Thank you. That's quite enough. Guard, remove her to a cell.

This case shows the primary ego and auxiliary egos in spontaneous action. It shows the strong tele structure that must have existed during the scene and, how an individual (the baby) in the subject's social atom, affects her behavior (the bitter flow of tears and the remorse). But there is a phase of the psychodramatic situation which deserves special attention, the audience. An audience analysis undertaken by two observers simultaneously explored the structure of the relations of the audio-egos to the players and to each other.

Two things attract our attention immediately. The first is that Mrs. A is strange to everyone and that Dr. P, the psychiatrist, is regarded by everybody as the most active audio-ego, becoming an auxiliary ego simultaneously to everyone. Taking all the audio-egos as a massed unit they seem to have no effect upon Mrs. A's spontaneity. But let us examine them individually. Mr. F and Miss E sat together, were split off from the rest of the group. Similarly the clique of the Misses H, I and G stayed together. All these audio-egos remained passive, due perhaps to the fact that Mrs. A was a stranger to them.

Mr. A, however, was such an active audio-ego that at one point

in the play he became a true auxiliary. Mr. A was watching the play intently, cheering his wife's efforts. When suddenly Mr. B asked Mrs. A where she was married, Mr. A's face turned red, he looked around at everyone else, became extremely nervous and leaned forward waiting for Mrs. A to reply. Mrs. A before she answered, became bewildered, glanced at her husband for support, then whispered "Harrison." Now what had happened was this. Mr. and Mrs. A had been married secretly at Harrison and because they felt the presence of strangers the bewilderment ensued. Mrs. A felt oblivious to the presence of these individuals because she was spontaneous but when the question stopped her, the spontaneity was broken and if it had not been for the encouraging smile Dr. P gave her it is probable that she would have stopped then and there.

Although we did not carry out our experiment on the audio-ego to the fullest extent that we had originally planned, one thing very soon became apparent to us. There are two audio-ego rôles—the passive or inactive and the active. These two rôles are always assumed depending upon the actors and situations and likewise the effect an audio-ego has upon the actors depend upon who they are and upon the personalities of the actors.

First we tried to work with inactive audio-egos. We asked several people if they would enact any scene they might want to play, when no one was in the theatre. We waited until physicians and auxiliary egos had left the theatre, only the patients remained. We, too, left the theatre but kept one of the doors slightly open so that we could record the action. Of the many acts recorded, certain patterns of response stood out clearly. Some people became spontaneous and acted out their rôles just as if we had remained in the theatre. The second group seemed to warm up more quickly without anyone in the theatre and frequently went through situations which seemed to no end. When they were stopped they felt disappointed. One person said, "I could go on like this all day." Others found it difficult to warm up, they would finally start a scene, go through a few gestures, make a few statements and then stop only to start in again. The fourth group was composed of those individuals who refused to act alone, and some who made an attempt and got as far as the stage and stopped saying that when it came to speaking, their feeblest whispers seemed to ring in their ears. The most characteristic remarks were "This is ridiculous," "I feel so foolish acting alone."

Next we found that the number of audio-egos had a certain effect on the subjects and auxiliary egos. With some, the number of people in the theatre did not make any difference, but this was not the rule, for we

observed, that the number of people in the audience affected the ability to become spontaneous. For instance, some people would become slightly less spontaneous while others would become slightly more spontaneous when the numbers were increased and decreased. We have this on the testimony of the actors.

More important, however, is the individuality of the audio-ego; if he is a stranger he may exercise some effect upon the players, which causes them to conceal much that ordinarily might come out in the course of acting. The acquaintance may have another effect depending upon whether the actor likes him or not, and if in the course of a few weeks they really become friendly they are bound to become more personal in their relations on the stage, and off the stage. The psychiatrist and the relative act as bolstering, supporting audio-egos except when the relative is disturbing to the actors. This latter statement is only a supposition because the only relatives we have had the opportunity to study have acted as pillars of support.

Mildly active audio-egos who are inattentive have been found to affect the actors in two ways. First, if they are so inattentive that they cause a real disturbance the players stop acting, or if they are in the process of warming up, spontaneity is never consummated. Second, even if their inattentiveness is just perceptible they break, however slightly, the spontaneity state. But this is sometimes helpful for the inattentiveness may be due to the fact that the play is dragging and the spontaneous state which has been attained is not really the best possible one. Hence the actors strive to command attention. This in itself is proof of faulty warming up, for the better the subject becomes warmed up the more oblivious does he become of distracting influences. In fact, during the scene in the District Attorney's office, three people came into the theatre, walked on the lower level past the stage and took seats in the audience, yet not once did any of the players look up to see who they were. There was no break in the continuity of the play. Mrs. A, the primary ego, after the play said to one of our staff, "When did these people come in?" However, one audio-ego at the right moment, becoming active was able to attract her attention.

Active audio-egos may be of the abusive type, who deride the actors and in every other way cause irritation. Unfortunately we have not tested any players with this type of audio-ego, but we are not denying their possibilities.

Most of the other types of active audio-egos worked by indirection, that is, they are discovered after one situation and then affect the other

situations. In this class fall the "producers," "analysts," "critics" and "observers." The producers are those who during the play weave plots of their own from the situation on the stage and then after the play add their suggestions which sometimes but rarely crop up in future situations. The analysts are those who try to solve the problem for the patient, acceptance of their advice depends upon whether they are persons of importance or not. The critics are those who after each performance offer criticism but never act themselves. The observers are those who sit back, watch the acts and also never perform themselves. The critics and the observers are a source of disturbance to the actors because they are non-participants and thus make the actors feel as though they were "guinea-pigs."

Highly emotional audio-egos also work by indirection. If they cheer the ego's attempts, laugh at his jokes and applaud his knowledge of dramatics this naturally pleases the actor: the audio-tele between the actors and these audio-egos is indeed strong.

From the reports of the actors the effects of the audio-egos seem to be less apparent in their subjective experiences. And as we have tried to show the mere presence of audio-egos and their attitudes are not one and the same; the attitudes have the greater effects. The influence of the audio-ego varies with each individual actor.

In another audience situation the projection of negative audio-tele is amply illustrated. The tele produced among all the people present, was, as far as we could find out, one of mutual affection. But when Mr. and Mrs. A acted in this situation the audience was broken up into parts, a cleavage took place in which Mr. O, Mr. M, and Miss M were thrust out of the group. Because Mr. O was a critic and because the other two were observers the actors when on the stage hated them for their "attitudes." This feeling while acting we call audio-tele and when the players leave the stage to sit and converse with these three the feelings that are projected are pure tele, more permanent than audio-tele.

It is also important to record here that this was the third situation that these actors faced. They claimed that in the first two situations these audio-egos irritated them so much that they did not feel free to say and do as they pleased. In this situation they resolved to become spontaneous despite the annoyance. The reason for this is obvious to us. For when an actor becomes truly spontaneous only a small part of his ego remains free to watch the performance and the audio-egos, and so they do not annoy him. This may sound like a paradox. "How can an active audio-ego make his presence felt to the spontaneous actors?" one might ask. The answer is

that he cannot, but that every state of spontaneity reveals gaps; and it is in this way that the actor becomes aware of the active audio-ego. This was demonstrated when Mrs. A stopped to think about a personal question. In the scene just presented there were no gaps in the spontaneity, the play was brief but continuous. When a person is entirely absorbed by his rôle no part of his ego is free to watch it and so he has no memory of it. The fact that we have often discovered this phenomenon, lends we believe, credence to our theory of why the actors decided to become spontaneous. Their answer was that it seemed to be the only way out. And rightly enough Mr. B and Mrs. A refused to act while the cleavage existed.

Turning from the harm that the audio-ego may accomplish we find that the concept becomes a useful tool. In the first place none of these audio-ego rôles are fixed entities and a person may change his rôle of audio-ego with each situation and combine any of the characteristics we listed. In the second place, the audience for the time being became analogous to a social atom, with criss-cross affinities running through the group of audio-egos. The audio-ego rôle besides helping the actors on the stage has another function. It aids in getting a new subject to act. For when a new subject undergoes the transformation from an observer to an audio-ego he becomes part of the group. The audio-ego rôle he adopts becomes a testing ground for him and soon he desires to play a rôle of his own on the stage.

This is perhaps the reason why Mr. C. was not another person to be disliked, or to be the recipient of the negative audio-tele, even though he too was a stranger. Mr. C during the first scene, when other actors were performing, sat in the third row ostensibly an observer, then moved to the second row becoming more interested in the situation and the problem at hand. Finally, he became an emotionally active audio-ego for the rest of the acts. One week later he became an ego and thereafter acted in many situations both as ego and auxiliary ego. One of our aims then is that every audio-ego should eventually become a primary ego.

In the beginning of this discussion we referred to spectator catharsis which took place simultaneously in a primary ego and an audio-ego. In the play where Mrs. A and Mr. B acted as husband and wife, the clear illumination of the problem affected a catharsis not only in Mrs. A, but also in her husband for he said that now he was able to understand her actions. Mr. A really asked Mr. B to act as the counterpart so that he might get a more objective view of the situation. And Mrs. A in acting

was given opportunity to act as a playwright, so she saw how the play in actual life might have been rewritten.

By the way of contrast, we have the therapeutic audience as cited by Dorcus and Shaffer (1), who point out that the large audience as a therapeutic agent is a "miracle." They remark that most of us are sufficiently dramatic in our inclinations to dread appearing ridiculous before a large group or to disappoint an audience expectantly awaiting our performance. To the individual who is ready to move in a new direction it now becomes more practical to be the subject for a miraculous cure than to go on with his symptoms. How many miracles are accomplished this way though we are left to our own devices to discover. But it seems that a controlled manipulation of the audience and a recognition that there are individual audio-egos will go much further in therapy.

In introducing the audio-ego we referred to the need of an audience by an individual but we purposely omitted his fear of it. Stage fright is just as universal an experience as the passion for an audience. Holling-worth suggests three explanations for stage fright, first, the reaction to the audience is a fear response, second it is a typical conflict neurosis, occasioned by the struggle of two opposed and approximately equal tendencies or instincts-exhibitionism or display on the one hand and fear on the other. The third and last explanation is that stage fright is a learned reaction. As Goodhue (2) says it represents the revival, by public appearance of some painful experience or feeling of inferiority that was formerly experienced in some personal crisis, not itself related to the appearance before an audience. But he neglects the possibility that perhaps in any performance before witnesses the ego is felt to be on trial.

Now if stage fright is a learned reaction the psychodrama first offers a method for discovering the cause. By the warming up process the patient pays less attention to his ego and more to the situation. A process of spontaneous re-education is introduced. The patient through practice in spontaneity becomes accustomed to the audience. Lastly the learning to be spontaneous makes for a better performance and so the patient becomes encouraged. There are no lines and cues to forget in the psychodrama to give one the sense of fear; the person acts spontaneously as himself, a reaction in which he is most positive.

There seems to be little to add except to consider the case where a patient is hard to reach with the ego dynamisms. Moreno (5) found that the greater the gaps in a person's ego, the more thorough and articulate must the aid be from the auxiliary egos. This is sufficient where the

patient still lives in a world of reality. But when the patient's thinking is autistic, he requires more than auxiliary egos, he must be furnished with an *auxiliary world* (6). The function of the auxiliary ego is to put himself in a mental state which will allow him to produce voluntarily a rôle which parallels the confusion the patient experiences by compulsion. Moreno builds an auxiliary psychodrama around the patient. But his rôle is natural. The auxiliary ego assumes, if necessary, fantastic rôles to fit the auxiliary world. This is another example of the flexibility of the ego rôles.

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THE USE OF PSYCHODRAMA IN THE TREATMENT OF SPEECH DEFECTS

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Much of the work of treating speech defectives has been done by persons using the methods of clinical psychology, with strong pragmatic leanings so far as the selection of particular therapy is concerned. This is not to say that the group of scientists of whom this is true lacks theoretical premises but rather that their preoccupation with the workability of treatment techniques has relegated to a position of secondary importance the task of concept formation and concept integration. A good deal of the thinking and writing done in conjunction with practical clinical work is phrased in traditional psychological terms of habit-formation and rewards-punishment reactions. Some writers are frankly eclectic in their viewpoint.¹

Before undertaking a discussion of psychodramatic treatment methods in speech correction it is necessary to know something of the nature of the speech defects which may be so treated. First of all, it is to be noted that clients or patients are non-psychotic; for the most part they are suffering from a neurosis² or they simply have a set of bad articulation habits. In those cases where symptoms are sufficiently aggravated to justify the diagnosis of neurosis two etiologies may be present. In the one case the speech disorders are symptomatic of emotional conflicts alone. In the other case a neurological basis for the pathology exists upon which is superimposed a complex of emotional conflicts which have amplified the pristine neurological tendencies. In an adult case it is often difficult to ascertain with any accuracy the relative importance of the biological and socio-psychological factors interacting in the overt symptoms. The primacy of neurological factors in a certain proportion of cases has been established by observational studies of children which show, for example, in the case of stuttering, that simple repetitive speech blocks of short duration or brief prolongations appear at relatively early ages, at a time when awareness of self and other consciousness are but vaguely developed.³

Usually the small child will talk right through these primary blocks,

¹See Charles Van Riper, *Speech Correction*, 1939. (Chapter XIII).

²The writers see no categorical distinction between neurosis and psychosis as held by some psychiatrists; they are of the same generic order of phenomena.

³C. S. Bluemel, "Primary and Secondary Stuttering," *Proceedings of the American Speech Correction Association*. 1932. Pp. 91-102.

especially if this aspect of his family role is accepted by other members of the group or if they disguise their anxieties or hostilities towards the child's behavior. The socio-psychological elaboration of these primary symptoms into serious disorders of communication, with concomitant emotional and behavioral deviations, tends to coincide with the assumption of roles and the development of self-consciousness in the play group and school or with the attainment of a degree of social insight that permits a response to the finer nuances of parental attitudes. Withdrawal from traumatic social contacts, with a further interruption of social communication and inadequate compensations, are the frequent result.

Authorities differ on the curability of stuttering. Some contend it can be entirely eliminated; others are of the opinion that "cures" represent a superficial change at the level of overt behavior and without any basic reorganization of attitudes or role-conceptions. A high percentage of relapses with symptoms more serious than the original disorder is characteristic of such "cures." A more modest and reliable approach is directed towards the removal of that portion of the stuttering which is the product of introjected rejections of the stutterer by the various groups in which he has played an unsuccessful role. Once this surplus has been stripped away the client comes to accept in an unemotional way the minimal neurological or the irreducible residual of symptoms having an exclusively psychogenic origin.

It is possible to conceive all psychotherapy, whether it is self therapy, inter-individual therapy, or group therapy, as the variation of a process of alternate role-playing in which self-acceptance without approval or disapproval, by real or imagined others, leads to insight and emotional balance. Psychodrama as a form of group therapy differs from other types of therapy in that it presents a much more complex "others" instrument through which self-objectification and self-acceptance can be achieved. It differs also in the element of spontaneity. Its conceptual kinship in this latter respect, to free association methods, finger painting and certain forms of occupational therapy is not hard to discern.

Psychodramatic therapy based upon role reversals is often used in speech correction. For example, a boy treated at our clinic had acquired a grotesque habit of opening and closing his mouth as if he were gasping, just before speaking. He was given an assignment to go down to a ten-cent store daily for a week and for a period of ten minutes watch the gold fish, with instructions to produce his symptoms every time the fish opened and shut their mouths. The only concession to ego protection was permission to hold his hands at either side of his mouth. In another case a boy had bad blocks growing out of severe penalties inflicted by his father; he was in-

structed to lie down upon a couch and orally reenact a number of episodes from his childhood, alternating between his own role and that of his father. The clinician in this instance left the room and retired to his office where the dialogue could be heard by means of a loud speaker.

Much of our inter-individual therapy contains implicit and explicit psychodramatic principles. Since many clients are children special adaptations of treatment are necessary in order to overcome the difficulty arising out of their inability to verbalize conflicts. In the effort to obtain enough speech to permit an analysis of symptoms in these instances some way of invoking it spontaneously had to be found. The use of fist puppets, a father, mother, child and bogie man who interacted with each other and with the child, was most efficient in producing speech and demonstrating conflicts. The father, for instance, would ask the stutterer to tell the bogie man to stop hurting him and the stutterer would refuse and egg on the bogie man, telling him to cut off the father's legs. Occasionally in treatment the child is encouraged to manipulate the puppets and talk for them, and this was found to be very cathartic. The puppet mother in the hands of the case will punish the child and then get sick and have to take bad medicine.

With adults, of course, the possibilities in inter-individual therapy are much greater. One common device is to have the clinician and client exchange roles and reenact actual or typical interviews. Not only does this increase self-objectification but it also provides an excellent opportunity for the catharsis of aggressions which have accumulated in the counselling relationship.

One of the more effective techniques which was evolved in the area of psychotherapy is the use of phonograph recordings of dramatized conflict situations. These are employed in various ways. Sometimes a case is asked to verbalize or (if his speech is too broken) write out his reactions. Often he is required to compose a similar scene from his own autobiography and present it before a group in dramatic form, taking all the parts, or directing it as a play. Many times the phonograph record is interrupted and the speech defectives asked to carry on from there. This is especially valuable in securing identification or catharsis or leads to the solution of their conflicts. The motivation and freedom so necessary to the success of this form of therapy seem to lie in this act of interruption. The advantages of the recording are its mechanical objectivity, its complete dissociation from the clinician and its repeated stimulus value. One recording of a stutterer's social and vocational rejections created nausea in a stutterer even at the

fourth hearing. Frequently the more powerful and vivid reactions in cases are delayed for many hours.

Even more extensively used and that which has been of unquestionable worth in our speech correction work are real life situations within the community. The psychodramatic character of this method derives from the fact that clients are aware that they are engaging in participation which would not grow out of their usual social contacts and which has only a remote bearing upon their status. Furthermore in some situations the community members contacted have been coached beforehand as to the general nature of the reactions desired of them. On the other hand a good many citizens have played their parts in the "psychodrama" without realizing it. One device is for one patient to take another into a place of business, as a bakery, and call for the manager. Then by previous arrangement with the clinician he introduces the second case and abruptly leaves him to invent some sort of plausible conversation and behavior. One girl in a candy shop has been employed to good advantage because she always responded to stuttering by an explosion of laughter.

One case treatment comes so near to the type of psychodrama described in an article by Moreno that it is reproduced in full below:

W. R. was a college sophomore with a very high pitched voice, the type termed an eunuchoid voice. His history showed a normal childhood with complete acceptance by other boy playmates; he was something of a "roughneck kid" according to his father but he had a beautiful voice. His voice was that of a beautiful boy soprano and his family, pastor and music teacher exploited it to the limit, often to the boy's disgust. He had to be forced to go to choir practice. At thirteen and a half, when the first signs of pubertal voice change appeared, his music teacher and parents did everything possible to prevent the change, forcing him to do much singing of cantatas, in glee clubs and choirs where he had to maintain high pitches. The boy's soprano voice continued in his speech as well. The result was that he harbored a great deal of resentment against his father and the music teacher. At the same time he developed a great admiration for his older brother. Eventually he gave up singing altogether. Meantime he was penalized severely by boys when he changed high schools in the tenth grade and later when he was in college. An effort at athletics was dropped because of especially traumatic rejections and he turned to literary interests and shunned social contacts. He persistently refused to recite in college classes. Although he was somewhat effeminate in appearance and was thought of as a sissy, apart from his voice his secondary sex characteristics were normal. He had many girl friends but no male associates.

*J. L. Moreno, "Inter-Personal Therapy and the Psychopathology of Inter-Personal Relations, *Sociometry*, Volume 1, No. 1, 1937.

Through the use of phonation with false vocal cords and throat clearing while his head was hanging downward off the end of a cot to prevent the characteristic elevation of thyroid cartilage to a position directly under the hyoid it was possible to procure a very deep baritone vowel of good quality. In front of a group next day he was asked to lay his head back and repeat the procedure. He began to speak on the same pitch as the vowel. The voice was so deep that it shocked not only the group but the case as well (and the clinician); it was so foreign to the case's previous personality as to make the scene indecently absurd. He cried and left the room and was still visibly shaken a day later. He planned to terminate further treatment because he "couldn't stand the shock." He was then instructed to practice the new voice on prolonged vowels and nonsense material until he could assume it at will, but he refused to use it anywhere save in the clinic.

The clinician composed a one act play in which there were three male and two female parts: a harsh father with a low pitched voice, an heroic older son with normal male pitch, a musical son of 14 years with the old habitual pitch, one hostile girl friend and one sympathetic one. The theme consisted of a harsh father who, in concert with a rejecting, taunting girl, drove the younger musical child from the home, and school playground, to the point where he jumped into the river and was drowned in spite of the efforts of the heroic older boy to save him. The quality of the play was poor but the theme was more disguised than the bare outline suggests. To the case it was just practice material in five parts and pitches. At first he practised it alone, then made a recording of it. However, he refused to do it in front of a group or to hear the record until a year or two later at which time he wept. *But* after this play had been rehearsed over and over again alone for about a month he performed it alone for the clinician, doing the parts of the older boy and the younger one with great emotion. To carry on the illusion that the play had no specific meaning he was given other plays to act out which had no special significance. A girl worked with him reading the female parts. The result was that the case finally began to exercise the new low pitch in nucleus situations in his rooming house, then in a drama class and then in all situations. The effeminacy disappeared and he went out for athletics without marked success or evident disappointment. Two years later at the time of the last case entry, voice and personality remained strong and masculine.

Certain impressions are left with the writers as the result of their review of speech therapy from the standpoint of its relation to psychodrama. It appears in dealing with persons who are not psychotic that there may be danger in some cases that spontaneous expression in group situations may weaken or destroy a delicate equilibrium of psychological forces within the individual. This was forcefully brought out one night when a group of speech cases was giving spontaneous acts at the home of the clinician. One girl whose mother was mentally ill and who feared a like disorder gave

such a horrifying imitation of an insane person that she was suddenly made poignantly aware of potentialities within her personality which hitherto she had only vaguely suspected. Thereafter her speech became worse and she broke off all contact with the clinic.

The writers were further impressed with the results obtained by reversing traditional psychiatric treatment. In nearly all cases deliberate exaggeration of speech defect symptoms was the prelude to improvement. When stutterers first enter the clinic no attempt is made to force them to repress or eliminate the blocks. Instead they must intensify them. While this as well as other psychodramatic methods give rich emotional release, its most beneficial effect is to point out the ultimate goal of treatment. By deliberately varying and manipulating his symptoms the individual gradually brings them under greater and greater control until they are emptied of the bulk of their pathological emotion and can be accepted in life situations.

RÔLE-PRACTICE BRINGS THE COMMUNITY INTO THE CLASSROOM

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As part of its regular training program for professional workers the U.S.O. conducts refresher courses at intervals in different parts of the country. One such course was given in New York City in December 1943 on "Community Relationships and Planning." The author participated in the leadership of this course.

The course which was limited to nine sessions followed a somewhat conventional pattern although lectures were rather informal and discussion was definitely stimulated. At one point, however, in the sequence of sessions, the writer deliberately shifted his style of leadership and initiated a critical evaluation of both the lecture and the discussion method, debunking his own performance and raising serious question as to the value of the whole experience up to that point.

There was a ring of reality in this interchange and one could almost feel a surge of concern move through the group. In this atmosphere it became both natural and necessary to seek a new reality base as a fresh point of departure. Each member of the group was asked to jot down an anonymous answer to the following two questions: (1) what gripes you most in the behavior of persons with whom you work in relation to your community responsibilities in the U.S.O.?; and, (2) at what point is co-operative planning and action most seriously blocked in your U.S.O. community relationships? The following answers are rather typical of those turned in.

1. What gripes you most in the behavior of persons with whom you work in relation to your community responsibilities in the U.S.O.?

The attitude that the U.S.O. has plenty of money and therefore should assume responsibility for activities which the city itself should take.

Little Hitler tendencies. Inability to accept new programs (such as U.S.O.) which they cannot completely control—or new ideas which they immediately interpret as a reflection on the way in which they have always done things.

Most small communities with which I have been working in recent years are slow to accept changes, especially as some local people think of anyone coming in from the outside as a so-called "expert from Washington."

Unwillingness to carry their service into the community beyond the conference table around which they sit and talk over community problems. There is, by and large, a feeling in the group to "let George do it"—with the accompanying feeling that *George* means *U.S.O.* now! This attitude, I am sure, is founded on the fact that this particular small community has always done very little, practically next to nothing by way of actual, face-to-face carrying through of any group plans. Unfortunately this business of "all talk and no action" is a real source of *gripe* to me!

Hostile attitude toward "outsiders." Slowness to accept new ideas, new methods. Wrong attitude toward service people, especially wives of service men. Trend to resent, distrust them, exploit them in rents and food prices.

2. At what point is coöperative planning and action most seriously blocked in your U.S.O. community relationships?

Gossip and small town politics—"cliques."

Lack of coöperation on part of churches—due primarily to denominational interests. Community goes all-out in work with service people but is absolutely lacking in consciousness or unwilling to face serious problems, housing, delinquency, existing within itself.

Lack of civil leadership in community to utilize resources toward concerted action in social planning. Members of the community who are in a position to determine policies and plan programs are indifferent to adequate community organization.

Political factions. Resentment to impact on community through military and war workers. Desire to retain old status. Individual professional jealousies.

At the recognition of the problem—that is the community does not want to realize that it has a juvenile delinquency problem, that teen age girls especially need planned guidance and care. It sees the problem as a small one which can be handled quietly by the other fellow. When some individuals get together for action, others,—the more conservative—suggest that the old resources are adequate.

By the lack of parents' coöperation. Children in the community have had little or no supervision and it is reflected in their conduct. No one had ever had a community interest. The school has had a most difficult job. They have had to resort to depriving the boys in particular of participating in athletics unless they meet certain standards of scholarship and conduct. This has been an incentive and it is having fruit. The parents have upheld the children by failure to coöperate. Children roam the streets at all hours.

When each member of the group had written his answers, the sheets of paper were collected, shuffled, distributed and read aloud. Certain points common to a number of the statements were identified and some preliminary, exploratory discussion occurred.

At the close of the session the course director agreed to make a somewhat more systematic study of all of the answers and to bring in an analysis of them the next morning. His report to the group at the next session was prefaced with a description of a rôle-playing situation he had recently observed and a proposal that this technique be tried in this instance. The group responded enthusiastically and the enthusiasm grew as the course leader began to weave together the various "gripes" and "blockings" that had been set down the day before, into a picture of a hypothetical, New England shipbuilding town, and as he began to define the roles of typical community leaders with whom they were accustomed to work. Presently the group were themselves actively rounding out the picture, filling in gaps, adding subtle shadings and injecting deeper reality into the situation and rôle character sketches at various points.

This occupied the whole hour of the session. No persons were chosen for any of the rôles at that time. Everything was left "on ice" as it were, until the next day so as not to destroy the spontaneity of the rôle-playing at the next session. When the group assembled the following morning the course leader quickly reviewed the situation that had been chosen for rôle-playing as follows:

We are in a small New England industrial town rather close to military establishment. One of the workers connected with labor organization greatly agitated over delinquency situation has gone to high school principal, who also has been greatly disturbed by delinquency trends, particularly among the older girls, not unconnected with the military establishment. Both felt they should go to U.S.O. director. Director has talked with U.S.O. management committee. Chairman of committee is away. Director has prevailed upon prominent member of committee to join him in sponsoring meeting of community leaders.

RÔLES: U.S.O. director, wealthy board member, judge, school principal, merchant, minister representing Council of Churches, labor representative (CIO), military representative (also representing health angle). Meeting in U.S.O. council room. (No difficulty was experienced in getting volunteers for these various rôles.)

The course leader asked the rest of the group to observe from two points of view: the validity of the rôle-playing on the basis of their experience with such persons; and more particularly, the rôle of the U.S.O. director—things well done, things there are questions about, things poorly done—within the framework of whatever the observer conceives to be good community organization. This technique of giving the audience of a *sociodrama*

a specific job of observation is an important part of using this technique for educational purposes.

DIRECTOR: Ladies and gentlemen, this meeting has been called at the request of two of the people here. Most of us have become very much aware of the problem of our young people in this community, and it vitally affects the operation of the U.S.O. I think the first thing would be the election of a chairman for the meeting. Will one of you nominate someone to act as chairman.

PRINCIPAL: I move that Mr. T. (the director) act as chairman (unanimously carried).

DIRECTOR: Mr. R. (school principal) you came to my office a few days back and we had quite a lengthy discussion of this problem. Would you kindly state for the group what we discussed at that time.

PRINCIPAL: I've noticed by our school records that there has been a lot of delinquency. We find that boys and girls are sleeping through their classes, not interested in their work. A number of them are truants. It has gotten to be a real problem. The reaction among the student body is, we think, detrimental to the whole school and its intended purpose. I think there is a real problem that we should work on.

DIRECTOR: How about you, Mr. K (CIO representative)?

CIO: A bunch of us guys had a meeting down at the union and we're interested in this too. For instance, after every football game this fall there's been a riot of some kind. On the night before Thanksgiving the whole north end of the city came across the main street and stopped everything, cut fire hoses and everything. We don't think that's good for the kids or for the city. We're interested in the total community and we'd like to have something done about this.

Director opens meeting for discussion.

BOARD WOMAN: Why are these young people behaving the way they are?

PRINCIPAL: First of all, probably, lack of interest on the part of the parents in taking care of the child. Too many of their parents are in industry, working at night as well as in the daytime. There's just a general let-down on the part of the whole population. There are a lot of soldiers around, and that appeals to the young girls; they think they're patriotic, want to give their all—we think too much.

JUDGE: As a judge of the court here, I definitely feel that some action should be taken by this body. Whether this body can do anything definite I don't know. To continually have these cases come up before me is

heart-breaking. I believe too it is a parental situation. What can be done I don't know. Some of their families are very closely connected with the group represented here this morning. Might the U.S.O. have some solution?

DIRECTOR: I think I'm the only representative of U.S.O. here, so I'll answer that. The U.S.O. isn't in a position to offer a solution because this is a local problem which must be handled by the people of the community. However, the U.S.O. has a vital interest in it.

JUDGE: Is there a type of program the U.S.O. could put on for younger people, where we could get them together by means of a well organized program—perhaps Friday night or Saturday morning?

DIRECTOR: Saturday morning might be a possibility. In the evening our club is filled all the time with service men. Do you think the children could be brought together on Saturday morning?

PRINCIPAL: I don't think the U.S.O. should house such a group. I think it is a responsibility of the community. The schools should be open evenings and Saturdays. Right away you get the howl from the taxpayer that that's going to take a lot more money for light, heat, janitors. I think it's a community problem and the place of the schools.

MERCHANT: Mr. Chairman, I've been sitting here listening to what you're saying and it seems there is no purpose in our talking any further. You've just said it isn't the responsibility of the U.S.O. When it comes to the court, it's the judge's problem. The school principal says it's his problem. That answers the question. We're just wasting a lot of time. We've missed the point. When we talk about this thing—of course, we ought to do something about delinquency—but it costs a lot of money. You've got to put this thing on a practical basis. I haven't time to sit around and talk. (Several people try to interrupt.) I've had a lot of experience with boys and with all kinds of organizations. I think we're missing the whole point. Of course, the U.S.O. is a fine organization—but until the U.S.O. came into the community we didn't have this problem.

DIRECTOR: It isn't the U.S.O.; it's the service men that came into your community and made this change.

MERCHANT: Then it's the Army's problem.

LABOR: We have a proposal and we're willing to pay the bill.

MERCHANT: Who's going to pay the bill? The business people.

LABOR: We propose that there be a Department of Recreation in the city government with at least three members on the staff for the first year, with a budget of at least \$10,000 for the first year, and at the end of

two years more as it is needed. The CIO Council—and we have about 65 per cent of the men in the yard—are prepared to set aside 5 cents every week deducted from our payroll to help pay that bill, and on 30,000 men that makes a good kitty.

MERCHANT: We're just taking up CIO business and I don't think we should do that. Why should we be concerned with this problem? It has been admitted that it is simply the responsibility of the parents. Why should we have a lot of high-sounding ideas? If the CIO is going to do something, let them do it. When it comes right down to it, the business man will pay it in taxes. I know we can't afford it.

JUDGE: Do you have any children? How old are they?

MERCHANT: Nine and eleven.

JUDGE: You don't consider they may eventually become a little problem?

MERCHANT: I don't claim to be a perfect father, but I know what I do when my kids don't behave themselves.

DIRECTOR: Were you ever young yourself?

PRINCIPAL: Have you ever read the truant officer's report on your children? Do you exclude service men from your store?

MERCHANT: Of course not.

PRINCIPAL: You're willing to take their money.

MERCHANT: What does that have to do with this?

PRINCIPAL: Somebody has to pay the bill. I've been a citizen of this community and it has been a problem for a long time. I've seen reports on your children as well as other people's children.

JUDGE: Would you like something to secure the future of your children when they get to the adolescent age?

MERCHANT: We have good organizations that don't cost much to operate. I don't see what we're talking about.

BOARD WOMAN: I believe I'm the oldest resident in this group, having lived in this community all my life and having brought up my children here. I'd like to say to Mr. Merchant in his talking about the U.S.O.—I'd like you to think back to the time just before the U.S.O. came, and the problem all of us faced, when the shipyard was building up and the soldiers were just coming in, and I think you'll remember a meeting when we sat down and wondered just what all of this was going to mean to the community and we began to worry about what was going to happen and we felt we needed facilities to take care of some of the recreation. We are all acquainted with how U.S.O. came to this town. I think we'll all agree that without the U.S.O. the situation might have been quite different. I

think there is a responsibility that the school might have. Let's go back to the schools which we have and see if there isn't some way of using those buildings first.

MERCHANT: It's all right to use the school buildings, but we don't realize the total cost. Who's going to pay the expense? There's going to be more taxes; we have too many taxes now.

JUDGE: More taxes and better children maybe.

DIRECTOR: There are two people here we haven't heard from. I'd like to hear from Mr. Churchman.

CHURCH: If what we say here made any difference we could talk quite some time. It seems to me the most important angle is what we do all the time. If we could shape the community conditions by a mere waving of the hand this difficulty could be corrected overnight. We have facilities in our church which are unused 6 or 7 days in the week, some of them available certainly 3 or 4 nights when we could bring these young people there and give them a constructive experience. I can't explain to you all of the resistance I would strike if I tried to promote that idea. I'm not sure whether this condition has been correctly appraised. The experience of all of us will include recollections of comings and goings in our youth that furnished the material for wondering whether we are doing our duty or whether we are just simply counting the pennies. After all, the men and women of tomorrow are the boys and girls of today.

BOARD WOMAN: Just what age group is the group that is most important to us?

DIRECTOR: Mr. Principal is in a better position to talk to us about ages.

PRINCIPAL: I'd say the junior high and the high school group. It also reflects in the younger children.

BOARD WOMAN: What sort of things would be interesting to that group? If they're like my children, they like to jitterbug.

PRINCIPAL: They couldn't do that in the church. I think the churches ought to do their part and possibly do more than they're doing now, but I think it should be in some community building where all of us are helping to pay the bill.

MERCHANT: I'm busy. I can't see why we're talking about this thing. It isn't a problem anyway.

DIRECTOR: How about you, Mr. Special Services officer?

MILITARY: We appreciate very much what you're doing for our boys; this clubhouse, I know the boys use it in their leisure time. As to what

you do with the building in the times the military isn't using it I think is a local matter. It seems that children are all upset, families are upset.

BOARD WOMAN: Is there anything the Army can do?

MILITARY: Along that line, I'd say no.

MERCHANT: I have a solution to this problem. The whole trouble is that they have too much leisure time. What we ought to do is put them to work. Make them work harder in the schools; that would keep them out of mischief. I don't see the problem; they don't go around breaking windows and things. Kids are kids. I'll admit my kids aren't perfect. But what's this idea of wasting a lot of time talking about things that waste a lot of money when all we have to do is get their parents to put them to work?

(Course leader terminates meeting.)

The course leader immediately started a discussion of the representativeness of the community rôles as they had been portrayed. The group plunged eagerly into the discussion. In all cases a majority felt the particular rôle was representative while two or three questioned the rôle, such as, "The labor man is usually only interested in getting better salaries. He would not be interested in a community problem of this type." Such a remark would bring a flood of concrete examples to the contrary which would result in a remark from the original critic, "I guess it's because I haven't had much contact with them. I'm not located in an industrial center." This man had faced the reality of the labor-rôle for the first time here in the classroom. The same type of insight occurred for other persons in regard to others of the roles.

The discussion was then turned to the adequacy of the rôle played by the U.S.O. director. This resulted in another vigorous and concrete discussion on the most desirable behavior pattern for U.S.O. directors in such a typical problem situation. This had to be cut by the end of the period.

No attempt has been made to make a systematic evaluation of this experience with this particular group. The stenographic record was sent to four members of the group for such further analysis as they might care to make. Three replies were received including one quite thoughtful joint memorandum from two of these persons.

Evidence of the group's enthusiasm for the experience was apparent on every hand. There was very great difficulty in breaking up to give way to the next group scheduled to use the room. The session was reported on and discussed widely among U.S.O. directors who were taking other courses. How much this enthusiasm was due to the novelty of the approach is diffi-

cult to say. Private conversations with various individual members of the group seemed to indicate that not a few persons gained considerable new insight not only into the community situation, but also, and more significantly, into their own behavior. The most frequent comment focused on how real the experience had been.

Several members of the group wished that more such sessions could be held and two persons were quite determined to see if a rôle-playing approach could not be used at their next regional or district conference of supervisors.

This was the first time the writer had attempted to use the *psychodramatic technique* in teaching. It is not the last time. There are educational values for the group in every step of the process—the defining of the problem, the diagnosis of characteristic rôles, the spontaneous expression of these rôles in concrete social interaction, and the down-to-earth and highly motivated discussion and evaluation which naturally follows such a common group experience. The possibilities of this extremely vital approach in agencies engaged in both formal and informal education are tremendous.

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ROLE ANALYSIS AND AUDIENCE STRUCTURE

With Special Emphasis on Problems of Military Adjustment

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SYNOPSIS

The session material for this paper was gathered by the author during 1942, and was announced among the Sociometric Researches in Progress under the title "Composition of a Psychodramatic Audience," *Sociometry*, volume 5, number 2, May 1942, page xlvii. Director of the psychodramatic sessions was J. L. Moreno, M.D. Role analysis of a psychodramatic production was undertaken and an analysis of the vote structure of three audiences.

The psychodramatic method has an important contribution to make in the education and training of military personnel. Thousands of men are returning from the fronts, affected by mental disorders. These men were at the time of their induction apparently well adjusted and able to maintain themselves at a satisfactory level of performance in civilian life. But the rigidity of military service, apart from the scene of battle, calls for a profound re-adjustment for the individual. It throws him into unfamiliar situations, the cumulative effects of which frequently lead to a breakdown of his morale. The thesis we wish to present is that psychodramatic procedure can educate him to a better adaptation to military life.

The psychodrama stage presents a unique opportunity for studying the human being in dimensions hitherto chained to verbal expression. The prime importance of the *motor sense* in military training makes psychodrama the treatment par excellence. It enables the director to move with the subject into as close a mirroring of his life situation—without actually infringing upon it—as objectification permits. There are no limits to the possibilities of expression upon the psychodrama stage. It is an exploring into new dimensions of realization, the realization of action, and into new dimensions of analysis, the analysis of action. Here the subject can project his conflicts without barriers, he may choose the auxiliary egos to represent absentee persons related to his problem. He may pick the situation, the time, the place, and the persons with whom to paint the picture of his life. The director is given a comprehensive statement of the syndrome of the subject, while he presents his problems and initiates the auxiliary egos into their roles. Diagnosis and guidance can thus go hand in hand, at the same time. By throwing the subject into action, warming him up to the maximum of spontaneity, and analyzing the performance immediately after

completion, the subject is given insight into his reactions. Once he has gained a certain amount of objective understanding, a program of re-training can be undertaken. In action training the psychodrama offers many advantages compared with other methods of personality guidance. It is possible to stimulate the subject into action and to stop him, right there, to point out where his action is inadequate. It is possible to make him start again, to warm him up along a different track, to make him realize that his old warming up process would lead to the same conflicts that brought him to the psychodrama laboratory. He is given records of his past actions, and is able to analyze his present performance on the stage in the light of what he has learned. The subject is given fresh opportunities to warm up into a different spontaneous state which would permit him to live as a more fully integrated, better adjusted person. Spontaneity is frequently understood in folklore as anarchistic behavior, "doing whatever one pleases whenever and wherever one pleases," or as impulsive, uncontrollable action, leading to emotional and social instability. But according to Moreno spontaneity training opens the way for a flexible and systematic process of learning, providing a more reliable foundation for the absorbing of discipline than authoritarian methods. Anchoring discipline upon obedience does not give it as deep a root as the spontaneous matrix of the individual can provide, as the individual can be directed "*sua sponte*."

We find an interesting parallel in the conserve-spontaneity conflict in the drama. The dilemma of the actor of the conserved drama is that of the actor-creator. Torn between the conserved role—lines, emotions and gestures long rehearsed—and the desire to create a *new* one—to live a new Hamlet, experienced only this moment—the conserved role becomes meaningless to him. The division within him is a torment, it makes his performance unconvincing. Our culture demands a specific rendering of Hamlet. Yet, does our actor really feel those words rehearsed so thoroughly that he no longer searches for their meaning? Is this then, the great Hamlet he has so long desired to enact? Or is not there, deep down in him a pain for that other Hamlet who had to die before he was born? This dichotomy may eventually interfere with our actor's performance, and often does, to a degree which makes performance in any conserved role impossible for him. The spontaneity actor knows no such dilemma. His is the privilege of creating a Hamlet of the moment. True, spontaneity acting needs training, nurturing of the creative elements within the actor. It needs guidance in order that his Hamlet is not only spontaneous, but esthetically acceptable, blending harmoniously with the roles of other actors on the stage. But his training does not consist in learning lines and emotions set

down for him. It is a training on the level of the actor's own creativity, so that the spontaneity will be ready, stored away for an occasion when it will be called upon to carry him over danger zones. His is not the fear that tomorrow night, at the same time, these same emotions, the same words, have to be repeated, the same inflection of his voice used, in order to rouse his audience. His is a creation of and for the moment, valueless upon repetition, complete in itself—however imperfect it may be from the point of view of the conserved drama. His values have unified to the point where his creative ego is not at pains to prove itself at the price of the conserved self, *that self which is expected of him.*

Mock-warfare as applied to our combatants, is a true reproduction of the conserved form of the drama. The men follow a rigorously set pattern. Every step is designed so that not a single man is left without a definite set of instructions. Every moment is timed for the next step, which must be equally well prepared, and the next and the one after that, till the enemy is annihilated or surrenders. No amount of mock-warfare training, however carefully constructed its every detail might be, however frequently a soldier is subjected to it, can prepare him for the unknown, for that moment when he will be at a loss because of some unprepared-for surprise tactic on the part of the enemy, or because his equipment fails him. In the latter case his technical skill will help him, but the emergency may be outside the realm of technical knowledge. It is then that his spontaneity, his initiative, his ingenuity for making decisions on the spur of the moment, has to come to the rescue. There is a source of untrained spontaneity in every individual. Everyone is called upon, unknown times a day, to exert spontaneity in situations for which they know no suitable precedent. Obviously, many things depend upon split-second reaction of the soldier in battle. He has been carefully "drilled." He knows his weapons, what to expect from them and how to use them to his own and his fellow soldier's advantage. But he will face situations that demand immediate action of a kind unrelated to his previous training. There is great need for some training which bridges the gap in the personality adjustment of the *soldier-actor*. That bridge we believe to be found in the application of psychodramatic methods.

Methods and Procedures

A number of psychodramatic experiments yielded three categories of standard situations, *intimate, work and community*. These situations are equally applicable to civilian and military life, as will be shown. Each of the three basic situations consists of a range of *representative roles* in some of which every subject is bound to function.

- 1) Intimate Situation: for example, family situation. If the subject is

a soldier, his intimate situation may be reduced to personal contact with a few fellow soldiers; his intimate situation at home is then largely imaginary. In the case of a civilian, the intimate situation may deal with: love-situation, pre-marital situation, marital situation, his relationship to his wife, a child or dependent.

2) Work Situation: In the case of a soldier, the work situation may be his company, crew, or squadron, and his function within it. In the case of a civilian the subject may be a physician, his work situation a hospital or office.

3) Community Situation: If the subject is a soldier, he may portray his relationship to fellow soldiers, his superior officers, commanders, finally, supreme commander, and his relationship to war policy and war aims. A community situation must be constructed as simply as a work or home situation, for example, appearing before a superior officer, asking for a furlough because of illness in his family. If he is a civilian, we may portray his relationship to neighbors in his hometown, or to religion and the church he belongs to. His relationship to government, democratic or fascist, and to race and nationality could be shown.

Roles emerging within these situations may briefly be summed up as follows: Roles in Intimate Situation: In a pre-marital situation, the boy-friend, lover; husband in the marital situation, or dream boy-friend, dream lover, dream husband, on the fantasy level. The role of father or son may come to expression, and if head of a family, supporter and authority. The intimate situation of a soldier may be represented by a few male friends in his company. In a number of cases some roles are concentrated into one, as in the case of a subject being a father of two children, living with them and his wife. Thus the roles he expresses are: father, husband, lover, supporter and authority. In the case of a woman the parallel roles could be shown.

Roles in Work Situation: In the soldier's case, he may be a private, taking orders from a superior, or he may be a non-commissioned officer. If an officer, his performance towards his inferiors may be projected, and towards his superiors. In the case of a civilian, a physician, lawyer or clergyman may be shown in relationship to his patients, clients or parishioners. If the subject is a woman, a factory-worker, secretary, home-maker or both, her relationship to fellow-workers, boss, maid, etc., would be portrayed. If the subject is an adolescent, a son for instance, a student, we may work out his relationship to other students, to his teachers, etc.

Roles in Community Situation: If a soldier, his work and community situation overlap with his intimate situation, hence his roles overlap. But he may be a hero to his fellow soldiers, or a good companion. In the com-

munity situation of a civilian, his role as a churchgoer, as a leader in civic organizations, as a public speaker or voter, would come to the fore.

Presentation of a Typical Problem

The case presented was chosen from among fifteen others, dealing with problems of military trainees, because it revolves around one shared by many of them and is thus of great public interest. The problem defined is: Should a soldier marry while in the armed forces, or should he wait until the end of the war?

The subject, let's call him Jack Roberts, was referred to us by a superior officer. He introduced himself when coming upon the stage. He was 25 years old, a second lieutenant, and came from a small town in Ohio. He was the youngest of three, his parents were alive and well-adjusted. He was college educated and stated that he had been an average student. The interview with the director disclosed that it was his work situation which was first affected by his problem and that it came to the notice of one of his superiors. Thus the first scene to be portrayed was his work situation. The subject was prepared by the director. Only crucial parts of the material are herewith presented. Many psychodramatic sessions have been combined into one. Lack of space prevents going into details which the case history revealed previous to the subject's appearance in the theatre.

Jack is backstage with auxiliary ego who will represent superior officer. Jack is warming up auxiliary ego to his role.

DIRECTOR: When Jack first started to talk about his problem he was bashful. He said he did not think he would do well on the stage, "I am not an actor." The director explained to him that a psychodramatic subject does not have to be an actor. As long as he is honest, and has a problem which is burning within him, he will be able to warm up to an adequate presentation of his conflict. Let us see how Jack's problem came to the attention of an officer, and what his conflict consists of. Jack returns to stage with auxiliary ego.

DIRECTOR: Jack, describe

the situation, tell us where this scene took place.

JACK: It was a small room at the camp where I was having basic training, rather bare, simply furnished, posters on the wall.

DIRECTOR: What time of day?

JACK: Early evening.

DIRECTOR: Were you in the room first?

JACK: No, the officer was waiting for me.

DIRECTOR: Then go backstage and let the officer warm up to his role.

Jack goes backstage, auxiliary paces the floor, warming up to his role, then sits down. Jack enters, salutes. Officer motions to Jack, telling him to sit down.

Officer looks concerned, frowns.

OFFICER: I sent for you

Roberts because as a candidate for O.C.S. we have been carefully watching you. Your record has been good up to the past few weeks. Lately you seem less alert. We need men of action for officers. How do you account for the change in you? You seem to be pre-occupied with thoughts that have no bearing on your job.

JACK: I did not realize it was so obvious, sir.

Jack fidgets on his chair.

OFFICER: Are you in trouble of some kind? Is there something wrong at home?

JACK: No sir, not exactly at home.

OFFICER: Whatever it is, we don't want it to interfere with your chance for officer's training, I just wanted to warn you. It's not our job to pry into your

private life. But we all have to make sacrifices these days, you realize that.

JACK: I do sir.

OFFICER: Think you can work it out so that it won't spoil your chances in the army?

JACK: I think so sir.

OFFICER: Hm, well see you don't slip up again. We'd like to see you get in and make the grade. We need good men. That's all.

JACK: Thank you, sir.

Jack salutes and leaves stage. Auxiliary ego leaves after him. Director motions Jack to come back for interview with him.

DIRECTOR: That scene took place while you were a private. The officer and probably others saw that something was on your mind which interfered with your army duties. But you are a second lieutenant now, that must have been quite a while ago, since you made the grade at O.C.S. meanwhile.

JACK: Yes, it was.

DIRECTOR: What was troubling you that made you less alert?

Jack looks down.

JACK: Whether I should get married or not. It had come up while I was in camp and I was not able to decide, so I pushed it into the background for a while. But now I have to face it.

DIRECTOR: One of the things we do not do here is to give you advice. We merely give you a chance to objectify your conflicts on the stage with the aid of auxiliary egos who will try to represent absentee persons. You yourself have to find a solution, either here or later. Your problem, though it is a private one, contains many general elements. It is therefore of interest how the

problem came about and how you solve it. Where is your young lady now?

JACK: Back home with her folks.

DIRECTOR: Inform the auxiliary ego who will portray her role, how your girlfriend acts, and what happened when you saw her last. It does not have to be exactly as it happened, just try and show us the essence of the situation, and perhaps of many other similar situations you may have been in with her. An auxiliary ego is selected to represent Diane, Jack's girlfriend. Jack informs her of Diane's behavior. After two minutes they start the scene. Jack describes the situation.

JACK: Diane came down to the training school to discuss the possibilities of our marriage. This discussion took place after supper, while we were taking a walk.

Jack and Diane walk around center level of stage, while enacting this scene.

DIANE: I'm sorry if I upset you by coming here. I only wanted to get things straightened out.

JACK: You know I love you, else I would not have asked you to marry me last summer. I know you would have if I'd put some more pressure on you, but your family did not approve and so I hesitated to force you. I was a private and they felt that the future was too uncertain.

DIANE: It was not easy for me, being between two alternatives. I did not know what to do. But after you left I felt as if I'd let you down. It was not right to have let you go.

JACK: I've written you how I feel now. If I get my

commission there's a responsible job waiting for me. I owe as much to my job as I owe you. If we were to be sent overseas I'd be divided between worrying over your welfare and that of my men.

DIANE: But you said I could help if you were sent overseas, you'd have someone to hold on to, to come back for. Does not that still hold good, even if you are an officer? Besides you don't need to worry about me. I can take care of myself. I'll get a new job and live at home if you should be sent away.

Jack takes Diane's hand and stops walking. Diane halts and looks at Jack.

JACK: It's funny, but being an officer does make a difference. Strange how last summer I tried to convince you that we ought to get married, now you're trying to convince me. We just don't seem to feel the same way at the same time.

DIANE: That's why I came down, so we could get together on it.

JACK: I don't think I'm ready for it now.

Jack starts walking again and Diane walks along with him. Both look unhappy, Jack especially strained.

JACK: Why don't we wait till I'm through with O.C.S. Let me concentrate on that first. Then we'll make a final decision.

Diane looks depressed.

DIANE: You mean, not mention it any more till you make up your mind?

JACK: I know it's hard, but it's the only way I can see my way clear right now.

DIANE: I guess that's the only thing to do then.

Jack is a little more relaxed when Diane says this.

JACK: Maybe we should

have got married last summer after all. I just did not want you to do anything without your family's approval.

Jack and Diane leave stage. Jack comes back to interview with director.

DIRECTOR: Jack, how often did you postpone marriage?

JACK: Oh, it went backwards and forwards a few times.

DIRECTOR: It seems that every time you wanted to marry she did not want to and when she wanted to you could not make up your mind.

JACK: That's right.

DIRECTOR: Your timing did not click. We often see that. And so you sent Diane home without a decision. She was willing to accept your suggestion to wait till you had finished school.

JACK: That's right. But now I'm through with school and I'm due for a furlough shortly. I've got to come to a decision one way or another.

DIRECTOR: Now that you've got your commission, do you feel that your responsibility towards the army weighs against marriage as heavily as before?

JACK: I feel it's just as important as the responsibility towards a wife and eventually a family.

DIRECTOR: Do you think you would have married Diane if the war had not come along?

JACK: If I felt the way I do now about her, probably.

DIRECTOR: Have you ever wanted to marry anyone else before?

JACK: Yes, twice. But nothing came of it. Since then Diane has been number one.

DIRECTOR: How does Diane's family feel about you now that you are a lieutenant?

JACK: Well, judging from Diane's letters they seem to have given in somewhat. I suppose that is because she is more anxious to marry me.

DIRECTOR: Why do you think they were against it?

JACK: They were afraid of the uncertainty of the future and thought Diane was too young to tie herself down at a time like this, mostly because she was so hesitant.

DIRECTOR: Do you think Diane would have consented to marry you in the summer if her family had supported your proposal?

JACK: I believe so. She is very attached to her folks and she is quite young.

DIRECTOR: How do you feel about her folks. Do you think they should not have interfered?

JACK: Oh, I don't blame them. In their place I might have done the same thing. But at the same time, I feel that my hesitance now is due to her indecision, which was caused by their pressure.

DIRECTOR: Suppose you had an opportunity to see into the future, say five years from now. The war is over. What would you like to do and where would you want to be? Don't be hesitant, pick yourself the life you dream of.

JACK: I'd like to live on the West Coast.

DIRECTOR: Married or single?

JACK: Well, by that time I'd probably be married.

DIRECTOR: To Diane?

JACK: That depends on whether she'd wait for me.

DIRECTOR: Cautious young man, aren't you? Suppose

she waits?

JACK: Rather Diane than anyone I know.

Jack moves about the stage with easy motions, uses his arms to describe the scene.

JACK: We have two children, a boy and a girl. The boy's the eldest. We live in Los Angeles in a lovely rambling house in the suburbs, very cozy and comfortable. There are six rooms, the furniture is modern. It's a beautiful home and we're very proud of it. My flowers in the front yard are the envy of the neighborhood. Diane grows vegetables in the back, by the kitchen entrance. The children have space to themselves to play in.

DIRECTOR: What is your profession?

JACK: I earn the whereabouts as a junior executive in a transcontinental airline firm.

DIRECTOR: What time of day is it?

JACK: It's evening, the children are in bed.

DIRECTOR: Explain to the auxiliary ego how you visualize the future.

Jack and Diane leave the stage again so that Jack can prepare her for this scene.

DIRECTOR: We saw how Jack warmed up easily to the idea of being married to Diane, and having two children with her. His image of the future is very clear. Jack showed no hesitance, he knew he wanted Diane, to live on the west coast and be a junior executive. Some people have a strong image of their future. Others have no vision of the future. They are not able to see ahead. Apparently Jack's desire to be married to Diane has colored all his dreams, even though he

does not entirely admit it on the interview level. We shall see how he imagines his life with Diane will be. Jack and Diane return. Jack arranges furniture on the stage.

JACK: This is the living room. Diane and I are having our after-dinner chat. The children are sleeping. Diane is doing some needlework and I'm smoking a pipe.

Jack tells Diane where to sit, he himself sits down with his feet upon another chair. He looks very comfortable. Diane pretends to be concentrating upon some needlework.

JACK: You look very nice tonight, dear.

DIANE: Thank you. You look a little tired. Had a busy day at the office? Jack lights pipe and smokes.

JACK: Rather, we're opening many new airline connections. How were the children?

DIANE: Oh, they're alright. Junior needs some new clothes, he is outgrowing all his things. He's getting to be rather a wise guy. Maybe you should take him in hand. Mary is easy to manage. Nothing special happened today.

JACK: Yes, they are getting big, makes one feel old. Had a letter from mother today.

DIANE: Is she feeling better?

JACK: Well, she never complains, you know how she is. But Kenneth added a few lines, he wrote that the doctor suggests a change of climate for her, like coming out here.

DIANE: Well, why does not she come? We'd love to have her.

Jack looks searchingly at Diane, then speaks haltingly.

ingly.

JACK: How would you feel about mother living with us, for good? I have not wanted to ask you before. Old people can be difficult and it would mean an additional burden for you. But she has not been well and needs someone to look after her. I hesitated to bring it up because it means that the children have to move into one room so that mother could have one for herself.

DIANE: But of course she can. We'll make her as comfortable as possible. She's very welcome, you should not have worried about that. We'll simply make room for her. When can she come?

Jack looks relieved, relaxes deeper into his chair. JACK: It's swell of you to take it like that. I did not know how you'd feel about it and I'd be so relieved to know she's well taken care of.

DIANE: You have been worrying about that, I know.

JACK: It will mean your being tied down to the house more than before.

DIANE: With children one is anyway tied down to the house. You did not say when she'll come.

JACK: If Kenneth can bring her, as soon as I've written for her to come, perhaps sometime next week. If he can't get away I'll have to go and bring her. She's too old to come by herself and too ailing.

DIANE: Any time she comes, she's welcome.

JACK: Mrs. Roberts, I think you're a very nice girl.

Jack smiles and goes over to Diane, patting her on the back.

DIANE: Thank you, Mr. Roberts, you're rather nice yourself.

Jack and Diane leave the stage. Jack comes back for interview with director.

DIRECTOR: How did the auxiliary ego act as Diane?

JACK: She did a fine job. Before, in the first scene with her I felt at times as if Diane and I were really back there, thrashing it out.

DIRECTOR: Does Miss B. look like Diane?

JACK: No, she does not.

DIRECTOR: As long as the auxiliary ego is able to reproduce the atmosphere of the absentee person, the stimulus is sufficient for the subject to warm up to his role. Did you present her with the problem to be portrayed in this last scene before you came out with it on the stage?

JACK: No, I just thought that would be a good thing to bring up. Dad has not been too well, maybe I worried about what was to become of Mum if she was left alone. I felt it best not to inform Miss B., to see how she'd react.

DIRECTOR: A sort of proxy test of Diane?

JACK: You could call it that.

DIRECTOR: She certainly came through.

JACK: She did indeed.

DIRECTOR: Is that the way you expect Diane to act in such a situation?

JACK: Pretty much like that. I guess I'm prejudiced in her favor.

DIRECTOR: When do you expect to see Diane?

JACK: In a few weeks.

DIRECTOR: We'd appreciate it very much if you would let us know how things work out with Diane. Will you do that?

JACK: I certainly shall. I want to say that I appreciate this opportunity to work things out.

DIRECTOR easier ab JACK: N I've had what it married. DIRECTOR you're st say whe it out things fo JACK: Y DIRECTOR your he you did on the Jack, th why an be a as well The two

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Method affects a subject, and (d) ber of t a certain comes t opposite self-con tancy o man, in soldier of the husband

*The

DIRECTOR: Do you feel any easier about it now?

JACK: Not yet. But at least I've had a chance to feel what it might be like to be married.

DIRECTOR: Do you think you're still too close to it to say whether your working it out here has clarified things for you?

JACK: Yes, I think so.

DIRECTOR: We appreciate your honesty, and think you did a fine job here on the stage. In essence, Jack, there is no reason why an officer should not be a good family man as well as a good officer. The two are not incompatible.

In the situation of the husband you would be the supporter. Later you would be the father. On the other hand you will be the leader and authority to your men in the army, a sort of military father. It is possible to gain from one kind of role some experience for the other.

JACK: You mean that by being an officer I may learn about being a husband, and vice versa. But would not the authority I express in one role conflict with the other to some extent?

DIRECTOR: Not if you don't mix up your roles. Roles

are, after all, only suitable within their proper frame.

JACK: That's true.

DIRECTOR: The issue in this case is a clearcut one: Should Jack get married now or should he wait until he comes back from the army and can devote himself to family life? No one can tell him what to do. He must make his own decisions, but he will find that having had a chance to place himself and his conflicts in an objective setting, will enable him to come to a solution more rapidly and concretely than would otherwise be possible.

The final outcome of this session was that Jack wired his girlfriend to be ready for his homecoming and to prepare for the wedding in a few weeks. He has reported to us from time to time. It is noteworthy that he has risen in rank since his marriage, is well adjusted in his married life and has apparently gained self-confidence for his military responsibilities.

ANALYSIS*

Methods of Role Analysis

We consider: (a) how the expectancy of acting in a role in the future affects a subject and each member of the audience; (b) role deficiency of a subject; (c) adequacy and superiority in a role on the stage and in actuality, and (d) whether a role is dominant or secondary to the subject and each member of the audience, on the stage and in actuality. Expectancy of acting in a certain role may produce a fear of entering situations in which that role comes to expression. In another case, the expectancy of a role may have the opposite effect, getting a chance at expressing this role may increase courage, self-confidence and satisfaction in the role. In one soldier, marriage expectancy or fulfillment may produce increased role superiority as a fighting man, in another it may reduce his efficiency as a soldier. The role of the soldier may be dominant to a subject at this time, two years hence the role of the husband may become dominant. In some cases, role deficiency as a husband may influence a man to such a degree that, if this deficiency is not

*The psychiatric analysis of the director is omitted here because of space limitations.

recognized, marriage may become a factor which in turn may reduce his ability as a fighter. In such a case, if his role deficiency as a husband is recognized before marriage, a decision not to marry or to postpone marriage, may increase his value as a soldier. We have found that role-training helps to reduce role deficiencies. In times of war role-training in military camps and schools might of necessity have to be limited to the soldier-role, although it should be realized that the various representative roles in which a subject has to perform are dynamically inter-related and inter-dependent.

*Scoring Role Dominance, Role Adequacy and Role Deficiency
of Single Subjects and Audiences*

A combination of four methods of scoring have been used by the author as basis for analysis of role- and audience-reactions. One method was to have the audience score silently, while the proceedings on the stage were in progress. The second was to have the vote taken immediately after the stage action was completed. In the first method the advantage is that the audience scores its instantaneous reactions, but cannot see the total picture, in the second the total impression is taken into consideration, but some instantaneous reactions are slightly less clear. It is possible to use a combination of the two methods, which affords a re-evaluation of reactions. Aimed at getting two types of reactions to the action portrayed on the stage, two types of questions were formulated. The first was designed to determine the reaction to the roles portrayed on the stage, the second to determine the role structure of the audience itself. The first question was: If you were in the place of the subject in the situation of the soldier (lover, husband, son, father, etc.) would you act the same way? Answer yes or no. The second question was: Do you think that a soldier, a lover, a husband, a son, an officer, etc., should act the way the subject did? Answer yes or no. The same questions were asked applying to the auxiliary egos on the stage with the subject.

A third method for analyzing audience reactions is a further refinement of the first method, and may be called an interview- or *audio-analyzer*. Every member of the audience is asked to write down on paper his reactions to the situation in development on the stage. For instance, the basic questions to which members of the audience respond are: (1) have you ever been in a similar situation yourself? (2) Did the presentation elate or upset you and why? (3) Is it because of your success or failure in that situation? (4) Did it remind you of something personal which you dislike having portrayed? (5) Did you object to it because the subject on the stage acted in a role in respect to which you have some group membership? Give your reasons for objecting or approving (such as for example, being a jew you

would rather not see a jew persecuted on the stage; or being a negro you would rather not see a negro lynched; or, being a soldier, you do not approve of a soldier getting married and making both himself and his wife unhappy at the parting.) (6) If you have been in such a situation as the subject was here, have you been able to solve it satisfactorily? (7) If not, do you think that the presentation on the stage was helpful in suggesting possible alternatives to you? (8) Add your own notes which you feel are pertinent in your reactions to the processes on the stage. Such written audience reactions should always be followed up by short individual interviews and open discussions immediately after the session, to which audiences warm up with great spontaneity.

A fourth method used is the so-called *role analyzer*. Members of the audience are asked to enact their own version of the roles portrayed on the stage by subjects and auxiliary egos. Every version of role-taking is classified into categories A., B., C., D., etc., and the balance of the audience is asked to identify themselves with one or another of the categories.

Three different audiences were used in order to determine the extent to which the audience influences role analysis, and in turn, the extent to which the role-playing on the stage influences audience reactions. The first session took place with an actual subject, in front of an audience largely consisting of soldiers, their wives, prospective wives, and girlfriends, most directly affected by and identified with the proceedings on the stage—the Primary Audience. The second session was presented before a group consisting largely of older people, physicians, teachers, social workers, and so on, objective observers who of the three categories of audience could be

TABLE I
ROLES WITNESSED BY AUDIENCE

Primary Audience		Control Audience 1		Control Audience 2	
	Size 95 persons		Size 95 persons		Size 95 persons
Subject A.	Soldier		Soldier		Soldier
	Lover		Lover		Lover
Ego A.	Husband—future	Auxiliary	Husband—future	Auxiliary	Husband—future
	Father—future	Ego A. 1	Father—future	Ego A. 2	Father—future
Auxiliary Ego B.	Son		Son		Son
	Lover		Lover		Lover
Ego B.	Wife—future		Wife—future		Wife—future
	Mother—future	Auxiliary	Mother—future	Auxiliary	Mother—future
Auxiliary Ego C.	Daughter-in-law—future	Ego B. 1	Daughter-in-law—future	Ego B. 2	Daughter-in-law—future
	Officer	Auxiliary	Officer	Auxiliary	Officer
		Ego C. 1		Ego C. 2	

called least directly affected by this presentation—Control Audience number 1. The third session took place before a group made up of adolescents, students and post graduates, most of them having a future-expectancy of such situations—Control Audience number 2. The two control audiences were unaware of the fact that auxiliary egos were used instead of real subjects. These auxiliary egos, A. 1, A. 2, B. 1, B. 2, C. 1 and C. 2, reproduced the same situations and conflicts as subject A. had with auxiliary egos B. and C., in an unrehearsed, but planned form.

TABLE II
ROLE ANALYSIS OF SUBJECT A. (QUESTION 1) AND AUXILIARY EGOS A. 1 AND A. 2

Roles	Subject A.			Auxiliary Ego			Auxiliary Ego		
	+	-	None	+	-	A. 1 None	+	-	A. 2 None
Soldier	92%	3%	5%	82%	11%	7%	88%	9%	3%
Lover	3%	87%	10%	11%	74%	15%	6%	82%	12%
Husband-future	93%	2%	5%	94%	1%	5%	91%	3%	6%
Son	80%	11%	9%	84%	4%	12%	92%	5%	3%
Father-future	83%	8%	9%	80%	6%	14%	90%	4%	6%
Pair of Lovers (interaction)	5%	80%	15%	7%	72%	21%	8%	76%	16%
Pair of Marital partners (interaction)	89%	8%	3%	92%	5%	3%	90%	4%	6%

Table II indicates the role analysis as based on the scoring of the subjects by means of question 1: If you were in the place of the subject in the situation of the soldier, the lover, the husband, the son, the father, would you act the same way? Answer yes or no.

As we see from Table II, Jack (Subject A.) was scored highest in the role of the husband (future-expectancy role—93%) and the second in the role of the soldier (actual role—92%). This indicates the conflict within him: which role should have supremacy? In the role of the lover he was considered deficient (3% positive, 87% negative) as also in the lover-pair-relation, although in the latter the total was a little higher. This indicates that subject A., in inter-action with auxiliary ego B. in the lover-situation, did not appear quite as inadequate to the audience, although still on a low level. Perhaps auxiliary ego B. was felt to contribute a good deal to the total situation. This is borne out by the overwhelmingly superior score auxiliary ego B. received, as shown in table IV, in inter-action in the lover situation. In the husband inter-action score subject A. is rated less than as a husband. This again tends to show that the audience felt that the skill of the auxiliary ego in inter-action contributed to his warming up to the role of husband as well as he did. This is clearly indicated in table IV,

where auxiliary ego B. is given as high a rating in her inter-action as in her wife role. Her score is consistently higher than that of subject A. Such analysis points out that training in role-taking and role-inter-action such as the auxiliary ego had received, makes for sensitive "tele" awareness which, in turn, stimulates the subject to give of his best in his role. It also indicates that in the testing of pre-marital couples, which is of pertinence in other researches we are making, testing couples on the role-level actual at the time of the test, that of lovers, may cover up many substantial relationships, but via the husband-wife projection, much of the deeper relationship may come to the surface.

Table III indicates the audience analysis as based on the scoring of the

TABLE III
AUDIENCE ANALYSIS (QUESTION 2) SUBJECT A. AND AUXILIARY EGOS A. 1, AND A. 2

Roles	Primary Audience			Control Audience 1			Control Audience 2		
	+	-	None	+	-	None	+	-	None
Soldier	99%	—	1%	90%	4%	6%	93%	3%	4%
Lover	5%	82%	13%	9%	79%	12%	8%	81%	11%
Husband	95%	3%	2%	92%	2%	6%	93%	3%	4%
Son	93%	7%	—	91%	4%	5%	94%	2%	4%
Father	89%	5%	6%	89%	3%	8%	91%	6%	3%
Pair—Lovers	8%	77%	15%	5%	79%	16%	9%	81%	10%
Pair—Marital	92%	4%	4%	91%	3%	6%	93%	4%	3%

subjects by means of question 2: Do you think that a soldier, a lover, a son, a father, should act the way the subject did? Answer yes or no. In analyzing the primary audience (table III) we find that as this audience was largely made up of soldiers, they reacted almost unanimously to the role of the soldier, with only one percent not voting, and none casting their ballots against the role as it was portrayed. Every other role was of less importance in this audience, although the husband role ran a close second. This is indicative of the role-structure of the audience. In essence the audience role-structure is parallel to the role scoring of the subject, but the son-role has taken precedence over the father role. This is probably due to the fact that, as soldiers were in the majority, they felt that the father role, being a future expectancy for many of them, should not be more important than the son role which already existed for them before they became soldiers. It is also noted that more votes were cast in the audience analysis than in the role-analysis. Possibly it was easier for the audience to vote on the second question because it was generalized. Being indirectly worded it seemed to carry no personal implications. Using members of the audience as a frame of reference makes the audience itself a subject of

analysis, on the basis of their own reactions. These reactions are all the more spontaneous if the audience does not feel that "they are giving themselves away." Such an indirect method enables the director to gain a precise estimate of the role-configurations of a given audience, which roles appear indifferent, and which are dominant.

Turning again to table II, let us examine how Control Audience 1 voted. This audience was differently constructed than the Primary Audience. Each audience is a private group and an individual case, and therefore a different audience gives different votes to the subjects in role-playing. However, according to the protocols of audience analysis which we have made, the more the plots and roles are representative to the majority of audiences, the more the score of one audience resembles that of another. In this audience, the role of husband comes before the role of soldier. This group, being the last directly affected by the war emergency themselves, reacted as civilians, considering a civilian role primarily. However, son, soldier and father follow each other closely, the soldier role coming before that of father. The difference here however is very small, placing the three latter roles on an almost level plane. The lover role is more prominent than for the first audience. Possibly our auxiliary ego A. 1 did not act as convincingly as a soldier, but we believe it to be rather a genuine audience-reaction than a role-deficiency. It is also interesting to see that this audience, being more objective than a primary group, omitted to vote on many more occasions than did the first. Scrutiny of table III reveals that of the three audiences Control Audience 1 voted least in indicating their desire to take the soldier role. This coincides with findings of military authorities who know that older men make less efficient and daring soldiers than young ones. All tables relating to reactions of Control Audience 1 (see also Tables IV and V) show that in this audience the amount of neutral members was persistently higher than in the other audiences, indicating their greater remoteness from the problem involved. The audience analysis in respect to auxiliary ego B. 1 is largely parallel to the role analysis of B. 1, as it was in the case of auxiliary ego B., with only minor differences between tables IV and V. (Auxiliary egos C., C. 1, and C. 2, the officer in the first situation, are omitted from this analysis because their function was slight and their role of the soldier overlapped with that of subject A., and auxiliary egos A. 1 and A. 2). The amount of neutral members of this audience was again highest in tables IV and V.

Analysis of Control Audience Number 2, with future expectancy of military and lover situation, shows that this audience did not differ greatly from the primary audience, except in regard to the soldier role. The soldier

TABLE IV
ROLE ANALYSIS (QUESTION 1) AUXILIARY EGOS A., A. 1, AND A. 2

Roles	Auxiliary			Ego A.			Auxiliary			Ego A. 1			Auxiliary			Ego A. 2		
	+	-	None	+	-	None	+	-	None	+	-	None	+	-	None	+	-	None
Lover	52%	36%	12%	49%	35%	16%	54%	40%	6%									
Wife—future	95%	2%	3%	96%	1%	3%	94%	2%	4%									
Mother—fu- ture	92%	3%	5%	93%	2%	5%	91%	5%	4%									
Daughter-in- law—future	94%	4%	2%	91%	3%	6%	92%	4%	4%									
Pair of lovers (interaction)	82%	11%	7%	62%	27%	11%	87%	10%	3%									
Pair of Marital partners (interaction)	95%	1%	4%	96%	—	4%	93%	2%	5%									

TABLE V
AUDIENCE ANALYSIS (QUESTION 2) AUXILIARY EGOS B., B. 1 AND B. 2

Roles	Primary Audience			Control			Audience 1			Control			Audience 2				
	+	-	None	+	-	None	+	-	None	+	-	None	+	-	None		
Lover	53%	39%	8%	48%	42%	10%	56%	41%	3%								
Wife—future	94%	1%	5%	94%	2%	4%	92%	2%	6%								
Mother—fu- ture	93%	3%	4%	91%	2%	7%	90%	5%	5%								
Daughter-in- law—future	91%	2%	7%	90%	2%	8%	91%	3%	6%								
Pair—Lovers	89%	7%	4%	86%	7%	7%	89%	5%	6%								
Pair—Marital	96%	1%	3%	94%	1%	5%	94%	2%	4%								

role did not take first place, the son, husband, soldier and father all closely contesting, with the already existing son role at a slight advantage. Education to a role is shown here to have a deep hold over the imagination of our soldiers in the Primary Audience, for soldiers they were first and foremost. The members of Control Audience 2 had a future expectancy of the soldier, husband and father roles and their conflicting import is here brought to the fore. They are in fact, somewhere between the soldier audience and the least affected audience. The all-over participation score of this second control audience is closer to that of our primary audience than the least affected group, showing their more pressing relation to the problems at hand. In studying table IV we find that in role-scoring of auxiliary ego B. 2 they participated more fully than even the soldier audience. This points to a more pertinent lover-role configuration among them, it being the point upon which they differed most from the primary and first control audience, as is brought to light in table V (audience analysis of Auxiliary Ego B. 2) which does not differ essentially from the role analysis of that auxiliary ego by the same audience.

Conclusions

The psychodramatic method is a valuable approach to the understanding and solution of psychological and social problems of men and women in the armed forces, or who are about to enter into them. It can be applied to small and large soldier audiences. It permits group treatment of social problems and is able to isolate cases needing individual attention. It is a flexible method and can be used as a preventive measure as well as for rehabilitation programs.

Psychodramatic procedure is presented here in its three major emphases —*the audience portion, the production on the stage, and the reaction of the audience to the production*. Viewed from the historic perspective of two decades of psychodramatic experiment, each of these has made a distinct contribution.

The audience portion in a psychodramatic situation has had group psychotherapy as an offshoot, since it was the analysis of audience combined with sociometric study which stimulated Moreno to coin this term, and to formulate its concept.

The second emphasis is the *production on the stage*. It stimulated a different development which has today become the central theme of the psychological and educational frontiers, spontaneity training, training and re-training of individuals, especially in the form of role-playing.

The third emphasis in this paper, *the reaction of the audience to productions on the stage*, has been pointed out by Moreno in his pioneering book, *Das Stegreiftheater* (1923). He showed that productions presented to the public—motion pictures, puppet shows, legitimate plays or spontaneous dramas, aroused various degrees of spontaneity in the individuals composing an audience.

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THE ROLE CONCEPT IN JOB ADJUSTMENT

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"There will be then two possibilities of survival for man: one, as a zootechnical animal, the other, as a creator."

Who Shall Survive? J. L. MORENO

(Editorial note: This article is part of a monographic study which attempts a reevaluation of industrial psychiatry.)

Cooperation or team work becomes one of the essential prerequisites for performance under conditions of large scale production in the interests of maximum efficiency. Because of that fact we are able to study the problem of interpersonal relationships in a much more objective way on a job. Criteria for measuring any disturbances in this interpersonal relationship will be found in performance, whether our scale be based on output or quality. It is the only type of interpersonal relationship that differentiates the psychology of the adult from that of the child. The psychodynamics and psychology of this adult performance are apparently subject to different laws than the hitherto established schools of psychology have recognized. If this new orientation should justify new concepts, we feel that hypotheses should be formulated to explain the *psychology of the productive population*.

Hereupon we anticipate one of the conclusions reached by our observations and studies. *Productive functioning is a response to a specific psychological need of the adult individual. It is an essential condition under which the adult integrates to and emerges as a healthily adjusted member of our society. Or: No adult can maintain his mental health if the drive for productivity is not realized.*

In the psychodramatic analysis of job adjustment and its implications we have found that the creative productivity of an individual, i.e., his so-called job performance, has overt and implicit values for the individual which we shall call the *role value*, the *social saturation value* and the *integration value*.

Role Value

The productivity of an individual can be enhanced or interfered with by emotional conflicts of the past that are projected upon the job, but also by social and economic factors such as unsuitable assignment or unemployment. The individual worker himself recognizes the need for adjustment to the job because it implies "making a living." This aspect

of the job, which is recognized by society in the payment of wages and salaries in exchange for the work performed, might be called the *reality value* of the job. The job situations to which the worker tries to adapt himself very often contain, in addition to this reality value, so-called *symbolic values*.

These symbolic values in the job are partly the result of projection upon the job environment of emotional ties, conflicts, ambitions and frustrations which are thus relived and reenacted in the job situation. The adult individual does not expect to meet, in his job, situations that would have the emotional implications of early childhood experiences. And yet many emotionally toned relationships, whether characterized chiefly by attraction or repulsion, are subject to reexperience in later contacts in the process of role taking.

In addition to these symbolic values which might be called *subjective symbolic values*, the individual experiences on his job also so-called *cultural symbolic values*. These are determined by the cultural orientation of a specific society, which has expressed in such symbols its economic, social and political pattern. Because the constellation of these reactivities is unique for each individual this cultural factor has to be taken into consideration when job analysis in behalf of an individual is carried out. Thus we have to understand not only the qualifications, but also the anxieties, conflicts and frustrations of male employees who will in their attempts to adjust themselves to the job situation discover positive values or frustrations which are not so much dependent upon their work performance but rather have to be attributed to the symbolic value that such a job has for a man, in terms, e.g., of success, ascendancy or power. The same job might mean to a woman, independency from the family, thus freedom and the opportunity for meeting and choosing a mate without being financially or socially forced to make a premature decision. This difference in the cultural symbolic value of the job must be appreciated when emotional problems in male and female employees are to be considered, and it will vary with the cultural patterns in the society at various times.

It was Moreno¹ who pointed out that "social life has a tendency to attach a definite role to a specific person so that this role becomes the prevailing one into which the individual is folded. Anxiety, fear, resentment, or feelings of differences and distinction are often increased by this condition and the accruing strains and tensions reflect into group life. . . .

¹J. L. Moreno: *Who Shall Survive?* Pp. 325-6. 1934. Also J. L. Moreno: Das Stegreiftheater, Berlin 1923.

Every individual is filled with different roles which he wants to become active in and that are present in him in different stages of development. And it is from the active pressure which these multiple individual units exert upon the manifest official role that a feeling of anxiety is often produced."

The roles in which the individual wants to become active are precipitated by biological needs, such as for food, shelter, *i.e.*, survival, and at the same time represent individual and cultural symbols. We thus define the role as the functioning form the individual assumes in the specific moment he reacts to a specific situation in which other persons or objects are involved. The symbolic representation of this functioning form, perceived by the individual and others, is called the role. The form is created by past experiences and the cultural patterns of the society in which the individual lives, and may be satisfied by the specific type of his productivity. We thus call this aspect of his productivity which helps him realize these needs and symbols, the *role value* of his job.

We include the reality value which is experienced in the financial compensation the individual receives for his job, in the *role values* because, although being related to self-preservation, a biological need, it might also partake of a cultural symbol. In our society, for example, selfsupport represents a socially recognized goal and thus becomes part of a cultural symbol. Such concepts would not exist in a slave society.

As will be demonstrated, a definite relation exists between this *role value* and the saturation of the structure of interpersonal relationships of an adult individual.

Productivity Value

Every productive performance elicits a social response which is expressed in "social evaluation." It does not manifest itself as a personal experience but appears as an objective appreciation, and represents the value which society ascribes to the specific job as expressed by financial compensation and approbation. But in addition to this social evaluation of a productive performance (the objective productivity value), the individual experiences also a "subjective productivity value," his ability to express his aptitudes in productive performance. The productive performance will depend upon (a) the specific talents of the individual, (b) the selection of the job, and (c) training, tools, work conditions. This personal aspect of productivity value is called *integration value*.

In order to benefit the individual the experience of the integration value must be a conscious phenomenon, a feeling of "doing a good job." Its value

can be increased by increasing the intensity of such awareness. The concept of higher integration of the individual through productivity is not usually appreciated by a society whose desirable goals are focussed upon the achievement of sustenance, success or power. If various philosophies and ideologies suggested other means of helping this process of integration, such as love, social relationships or relation to the universe, they were too often disassociated from the concept of productivity. We thus can say that the productivity value of a job does not include only the value ascribed to it by society but also the individual's talents and what he can produce with them.

Interpersonal Relationships

In a society in which the main emphasis is laid on the extent and intensity of interpersonal relationships, we are wont to measure the social adjustment of a person by the number of friends he has and the closeness of their relationships. Emotional and mental disturbances are generally related to the degree of socialization the individual has reached. Oddly enough the expectation of socialization runs counter to the individualization that has been almost a fetish in our culture (rugged individualism). The projection of a patient's difficulties upon the persons in his environment, as in the paranoid expression that neurotic complaints frequently assume, drew the attention of psychiatrists to the importance of interpersonal relationships. The basic importance of the social factor was postulated, regardless of whether the disturbance was ascribed to constitutional factors or instincts or to the structure of the social environment. The therapeutic goal was assumed to hinge on the improvement and extension of interpersonal relationships.

The validity of this assumption is called into question by the findings of investigators, that the emotional need for interpersonal relationships represents a nearly constant value for each individual and that the objective measurements of the structure of an individual's social expression do not necessarily indicate the degree of saturation of his emotional needs. Hence the individual who has ten close friends is not necessarily supersaturated in his emotional needs in contrast with the person who has only four.

Moreno from his first sociometric experiments postulated various "laws" as characterizing the interpersonal structure of groups. Jennings² has recently reported that: "The extent of the individual's own capacity to exercise choice and rejection is not limitless or randomly variable: it shows

²Helen Hall Jennings: *Leadership and Isolation*. Pp. 58, 210. 1943.

a definable range, a range that may be called his *emotional repertoire* (for responding by choice or rejection) in expansiveness to others, an attribute that may be seen as a relatively permanent attribute. . . . The individual's choice behavior . . . appears as an expression of needs which are, so to speak, so 'central' to his personality that he must strive to fulfill them whether or not the possibility of fulfilling them is at hand or not. The extent of negative or positive 'press' exerted by others towards the individual appears not to affect the extent of his need for others, as measured by the extent of his own negative or positive choice behavior towards others. The individual, moreover, shows not only a characteristic repertoire in choice expression towards others but in turn is himself the focus of a significantly consistent amount of choice and rejection."

In concurrence with this point of orientation the present study deals only with this aspect of interpersonal relationships which represents saturation of emotional needs for interpersonal relationships.

Ideologies, social organizations and psychotherapeutic methods have, in various cultures, taken one of the following three values as the primary point of orientation for the organization of production: *social saturation value*, i.e., the value that a certain "job" has in helping the individual to experience a saturation of his emotional needs for interpersonal relationships; *role value*, which represents his financial compensation plus the various individual and cultural symbols he experiences in the job situation; and *integration value*, i.e., this part of the productivity value of a job which the individual experiences as ability to express his specific talents in productive work.

If the *role value* the individual experiences in his job is so closely related to his social saturation value that in the individual's emotional experience they very nearly become identical, the integration value the individual experiences through the job increases proportionately to the increase in the role value. If, for instance, a man in his "job" of being a physician realizes in his profession all the desirable roles, and at the same time the saturation of his needs for interpersonal relationships because of his close relationships to his patients or because his family and friends love and admire him because of his being a physician, this individual experiences well-being as the result of the higher integrative value of his job. Any increase in the role value accompanied by an increase in the social saturation value will augment his experience of integration.

If the *role value is decreased* and becomes smaller than the social saturation value, the social saturation value will have to increase proportionately if the degree of integration is to be maintained. If the role value however

decreases without any change taking place in the social saturation value the integration value of the job diminishes too.

This decrease in the role value was experienced by thousands of men and women when the industrial revolution progressively supplanted human labor by machines. Because of the increasing division of labor the relationship of the worker to the finished product changed. This change necessarily modified his role as creator, *i.e.*, as craftsman. It is this diminished role value which the individual experienced in his job that the critics of the machine age considered the most dangerous threat to the integration of the individual, who thus was in danger of being reduced to an "automaton."

As technological progress could not be halted in spite of misgivings, various philosophies and ideologies suggested ways and means, as an alternative, of increasing the integration of the individual through increasing the saturation of his emotional needs for interpersonal relationships. However the above mentioned sociometric findings (Jennings),—that the emotional repertoire of interpersonal relationships is characteristic and specific for each individual and not subject to great change,—justifies a reevaluation of the several methods used in the attempt to foster the process of integration. Apparently the leaders of social or of productive organizations have no unlimited potentiality for influencing the social saturation value.

It is at least open to discussion whether the social saturation value can be influenced according to plan and increased to a degree that maximum integration for the individual would result. It was because of this relative inability to influence the *S* value that provisions had to be made to maintain the role value on a high level. Though all psychological and sociological therapies have stressed the importance of social adjustment, the increase in the "role" in addition to social saturation was attempted to achieve integration. This endeavor to establish an equilibrium between the role and social adjustment is the essence of the "synthesis" for which the critics of psychoanalysis have long clamored. However, when and where to stop in a "synthesis" without producing a pathological overdevelopment of the role, was left to the individual therapist's discretion. The concept of the role had not as yet been arrived at by the schools of psychology at the beginning of the century. It is Moreno³ to whom modern psychiatry and sociology owe immeasurable gratitude for the development of the role concept and

³"Sociometry and the Cultural Order," *Sociometry*, VI:3:299-344, pp. 331-332. 1943.

"Inter-Personal Therapy and the Psychopathology of Inter-Personal Relations," *Sociometry*, I:1-2:9-76, pp. 44-47. 1937.

"Mental Catharsis and the Psychodrama," *Sociometry*, III:3:209-244. 1940.

for various methods of exploring and therapeutically influencing roles towards achieving integration. This new understanding offered a scientific approach to synthesis, which is not generally accepted as yet but is meeting ever wider recognition.

On the basis of similar studies we bring the role value which the individual experiences in his job, into relationship to the integration value of the job, and we maintain that when the role value exceeds the integration value, the emotional need for interpersonal relationships which the individual feels will reach only a fraction of the saturation "normal" for this individual. In extreme cases the individual will experience this discrepancy as a frustration, in other cases he may react more extremely, or with mental illness. The configuration of the various "values" will be characteristic, normal, for individuals by whom the integration value of the "job" cannot be experienced because they are individuals who belong to the non-productive population, such as, for instance, in the case of children where the emphasis is laid on the role value.

Adult people in whom the role becomes overextended so as to exceed their capacity to support such a role through creative performance, *i.e.*, the integrative experience of productivity, perceive a decrease in the saturation of their needs for interpersonal relationships. To compensate for it the individual produces symbols in the attempt to satisfy such needs. These symbols are called hallucinations and the configuration of these values leads to a psychosis.

This is neither the time nor the occasion to go into the various philosophical, ideological or religious interpretations of this specific configuration of personality values and their direction toward definite social and political goals. Suffice it to indicate that it is a fact proven by history that whenever the role value is emphasized in a social or political program with complete neglect of the integration value offered by productivity, it will, in addition to the above mentioned personality patterns, produce as initial effect a lack of social saturation, which will call for compensatory measures.

In some cases the conscious experience of the integration value predominates over any need for the saturation of interpersonal relationships. In such instances the role value realized on the job increases proportionately to the integration value. The individual is completely absorbed with his job, but to the objective observer he seems to stress the role value: it is as if the role value had become preponderant and assumed a rigid character; we find such a pattern in scientists and artists in whom "science for science's sake," or "art for art's sake" or the so-called "scientific mind" apparently cloaks social isolation. Typical for this type is the Renaissance man

who in his role as scientist or artist produces great values but does not show any "social consciousness." The inflexibility of this role is related to the high integrative value which can be experienced in this specific job only. No attempt to influence the social saturation measure will be of any avail. The oddity of this "ivory tower" personality might be criticized or attacked but as the role is supported by a highly integrative value the individual prefers to be considered an anomaly rather than change this pattern though doing so might lessen social criticism.

Thus, after an analysis of the different values that the individual can experience on his job and their susceptibility to being consciously influenced in the interests of satisfactory production planning, social planning and mental health or preventive mental health measures, we can summarize as follows:

The most satisfactory and susceptible factor for an approach is the integrative value the individual experiences in his job. The most auspicious constellation of these various values to achieve the highest degree of integration is given when the integration value is more heavily stressed than the role value.

We feel satisfied that, through industrial psychiatry, the theoretical antagonism existing between the psychological theories explaining a social structure and the various economic theories could be reconciled through this concept of the integrative value of the job which, in its psychological and socio-economic aspects, represents the goal of humanity.

The influence that such orientation will have, not only upon "industrial psychiatry" but also upon social and economic planning, cannot be predicted at present. Yet one conclusion is justified: present psychotherapeutic methods influencing the role and social saturation factors are not sufficient because they do not directly and scientifically influence: (1) man's need for creativity, and (2) the pattern of roles. Thus we see the psychodramatic method, especially in its training phase, opening new fields of therapeutic endeavors closely related to the industrial organization of our society. Through this method spontaneity is increased and directed by locating roles in which the spontaneous productivity becomes greater than the need for interpersonal relationships. Such roles then are used for training purposes, leading finally to roles in which the individual's talents are expressed in socially valuable production.

PSYCHODRAMA AND THERAPEUTIC MOTION PICTURES

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THE THERAPEUTIC DRAMA

An analysis of the dramatic literature of all ages, radio scripts and films would show a division in several categories, the category of the entertaining drama, the category of the esthetic drama, and the category of the social, (religious, moral, educational) drama. But one category will be missing—at least in a pure form—the *therapeutic drama*. Psychotherapy as an exclusive aim of the drama has never been attempted. The literature carefully sieved, will show that fragments or even large parts of many dramas and films might be considered as therapeutic if they could be cut off from the rest. But tied up as they are with other parts they render the total picture doubtful therapeutically, if not confusing and anti-therapeutic. From this point of view even the best psychological dramas of Shakespeare, as Hamlet, Macbeth, Othello, would not stand up to psychodramatic requirements. The Shakespeares, Ibsens and Calderon de la Barcas can not be blamed for this shortcoming. Their plays have been written for purposes other than therapy, as for instance, esthetic appreciation or morale, which may provoke in the audience heroic and noble, as well as morbid, childish and anti-social attitudes. Thus the acid test of whether a dramatic work is therapeutic or not depends upon whether or not it is capable of producing catharsis in special types of audiences, or whether it is capable of warming up each member of the audience to a better understanding of himself, or a better integration of the culture in which he holds membership. In principle it is possible that a playwright may produce a drama which unconsciously would meet cathartic aims. Except for such accidents, it stands to reason that the therapeutic drama form has to be cultivated consciously and systematically like any other form of art or science.

There is an argument which we must dispose of first, before elaborating on the idea of the therapeutic drama. That is, that good drama is entertaining, beautiful and therapeutic at the same time. If it is beautiful it must *eo ipso*, produce catharsis and what is fine and beautiful is always the best entertainment. Far be it from me to deny the great beauty there is in Othello, and that it has, in parts, the seed of great catharsis. But certain parts, as for instance, the scene where the colored Othello kills the white Desdemona, are bound to produce in certain audiences, feelings which are the very opposite of catharsis. Obviously, what is true about as great a

dramatist as Shakespeare, is much more true about the legion of mediocre playwrights, radio and film script writers. However, the regular production is not our concern, it should be left to its approved specialists, but a psychodramatist on the consulting board of film production agencies might render good service, especially to such agencies which are engaged in the production of films for children and adolescents.

*Therapeutic motion pictures,** film or television, the selection of conflicts, the construction of plots, the choice and training of cast, must be made in accord with psychodramatic principles. But the medium of the film adds factors which are absent in a psychodrama session. The latter is a one-time event for a one-time audience. It aims to be of cathartic benefit to the actors and the audience alike. The therapeutic motion picture is a repeatable event and of cathartic benefit to an audience only. It is however able to appear simultaneously and successively before innumerable audiences. The focus of a psychodrama session is an immediate and singular audience—in the therapeutic motion picture attention is concentrated upon yet invisible, future audiences. The psychodramatic director works in continuous interaction with the audience, analyzing action not only as the stage production requires, but also as the rising and falling of the emotional atmosphere of the audience requires comment. Another technical difficulty arises from the medium itself. Only a few of the informal, spontaneous actions and inter-actions of the psychodrama lend themselves to photography. Inadequate picture-taking may easily turn the most spontaneous acting into a distorted and artificial portrayal. The psycho-technical problem is therefore how to produce a film so that it approximates as far as possible the atmosphere of spontaneous acting, and how to construct the film so that it gives the audience the illusion of direct communication with itself.

THE DRAMA-SITUATION AND THE ROLE-PROCESS

A drama setting can be a conventional theatre, a radio theatre audience, a film theatre audience, a television theatre audience, and last but not least, a theatre for psychodrama and spontaneity. It may be useful to repeat here the interpretation which the psychodramatic theory has given to theatrical experience. It views the total situation as a subjective-objective process. It does not overemphasize one phase of it, for instance, the experiences of the spectator at the cost of another phase, for instance, the experience of the actor, the experience of one individual spectator at the cost

*I suggest that we use for this new type of motion picture a special phrase—therapeutic motion picture, therapeutic film, or psychodramatic film.

of all other individual spectators composing an audience, the experience of one particular audience at the cost of other audiences, the experience of one individual actor at the cost of another individual actor, or all actors interacting in a production. It does not overemphasize the verbal process in a production at the cost of the action process. It does not overemphasize the role experience of the actor at the cost of the private experience he has had himself as a real person and it does not overemphasize the private, past experiences of a spectator as a real person at the cost of his experience as an audio-ego¹ living through the enfolding of a dramatic production. It is obvious therefore, that it is not satisfactory to explain the highly involved process of the theatrical situation by unconscious identification. It oversimplifies that which is taking place to a degree that it becomes misleading. The past and deeply subjective experiences of an individual spectator may exert an influence upon his attitude at the moment as he sits in an audience. But what happens to the subject as he *lives through* the drama passively and actively is better answered if we consider every spectator as an embryonic playwright and as an embryonic role-player and if we relate him to the objective structure of the theatrical situation to which he is exposed.

It has been one of the basic errors of psychoanalysis to draw from *one* situation, the psychoanalytic situation, conclusions in regard to *other* situations which, because of their different structure, require a different type of interpretation. The drama situation has a structure of its own. The structure of the setting has two sides. The one side is the production on the stage—whether a conventional drama, a motion picture drama, a radio drama or a psychodrama—the production is an *objective* phenomenon, tangible and concrete (it is not the subjective incognito mask of the psychoanalyst who is at times to a patient like the ink-blot of the Rorschach test). The *production consists of roles* borne by certain actors in a series of situations, of a plot which brings these role-carriers to conflicts and to their solution. (It is not just the enigmatic face of an analyst listening to a patient's complaints.) *The audience egos*, or short the audio-egos, *react to roles*, to King Lear, Othello, Electra, or Hamlet, and to an actual setting into which all these roles are interwoven. An objective determination of what these role-materials are to which the audio-ego reacts, is easily possible. The written play, the film and the gramophone make them accessible. Because of this objective background the actual reaction of an audio-ego to these roles can be submitted to the following inquiry: how is it

¹A term coined by Abraham L. Umansky, see "Psychodrama and the Audience," *Sociometry*, Volume VII, No. 2, 1944.

possible that a spectator who has never been a Hamlet, an Othello or a King Lear can relate himself to these roles, enjoy and profit from them? The first person who had to deal with Hamlet, Othello or King Lear as they appear on the stage, was their playwright, Shakespeare. How was it possible for him, Shakespeare, to create a Hamlet or Othello without having been one in actual life? We know that he, by way of creativity, warmed up to these roles in a spontaneous creative fashion, using in the production every possible type of experience he can draw from, private as well as imagined elements, stirred up by the s. factor. The results are super-real and even super-human roles, a cohesion, integration and unity of production which is hardly possible in real life. The very shortness of the drama, in one to two hours portraying the history of a person or of an entire nation, indicates by itself the *irreality* and the *ahistoric* character of the event. We know that it is impossible for an author to produce a Hamlet for instance, out of a private vacuum. He must have this role and any similar role in some *minimum* stage of development which he can blow up by means of the s. factor (the warming up process) to super-human magic proportions. The actors proceed similarly to the role-creator himself. They cannot reproduce roles which have never been in them as however remote an experience. They can react only to roles with which they themselves have been pregnant in a minimum state of development. There is *minimum receptivity* of roles in a spectator just as there is a *minimum productivity* of roles in an actor. The playwright has worked these roles out far beyond the point to which they are developed in a spectator. He, the spectator could never have developed them by himself to the vision Shakespeare pictured on the stage, but he can easily warm up to the version of Hamlet or Othello offered by the playwright. In a spectator every role, private or collective, must have at least a minimum degree of development in order that he may have a perception for a parallel role process taking place on the stage. However, this embryonic experience in the spectator is wholly inferior to the super-human, integrated and gigantic expression to which it has been carried by the playwright and the actors. What powers enable him to jump to such heights with such little investment of his own to work with? One of these powers is the s. factor (spontaneity). The spectator undergoes a process of warming up, the production on the stage operating as a mental starter. There is sufficient of the role in him to accept this starter. The rapport is established, the rest he gives in to, like a follower to an authority, and the more increased his receptivity is, the easier it will be for the role to carry him from stage to stage until the climax is reached. It is obvious, however, that the greater the productivity in the role creating of a spectator is towards a version of his own, the less will be his receptivity to any version

of the same role in the production, which does not coincide with his own trend of warming up. If this varying version of the same role presented before him on the stage tries to influence him to warm up into a direction which contradicts his own version, it may produce in him instead of catharsis, pain and resentment.

A spectator is endowed with a minimum receptivity for the role process on the stage because every role in him has two sides, a collective side and a private differential. A spectator watching a Chaplin film reacts therefore to the two portions of the role, the private person and the tramp. He may have a negative tele for the private Chaplin, a positive tele for the tramp, or he may have a positive tele for both portions of the role process. If the private life of an actor could be kept as stereotyped or as incognito as the life of the Japanese emperor, the private tele would be reduced to a minimum and the average theatre goer would know only the series of roles in which an actor takes part.

AUDIENCE REACTIONS

In the moment of presentation of a motion picture the production aspect of it is sealed forever. There is only one aspect which is human, changeable and in need of control, that is the audience. The audience is the patient. The study of audience reactions and audience constellations should therefore precede the production of pictures itself, as it is upon their requirements that the content of productions depend. There are significant differences between conventional theatre audiences, psychodramatic audiences, and motion picture audiences.

The audience attending a conventional drama and the audience attending a psychodrama have different attitudes. The audience attending a conventional drama, although it faces a human drama for the first time, is aware that it is up to every particle a created conserve. It expects to be entertained, moved and elevated by the drama and therefore rebukes severely any imperfection, lack of control, productivity, cohesiveness and balance of the actors which disturbs the smoothness and unity of the play. It comes to the theatre with the expectancy of a type of warming up process in the actor which is the characteristic demeanor of a cultural conserve. It has no expectancy for the emergence of the s. factor in the actor and the production. It considers, perhaps rightly, the s. factor, the ad-lib, as a faux pas or a trick, as *illegitimate* behavior and as disturbing his catharsis. On the other hand, an audience attending a psychodrama has to develop a different attitude if it should find any enjoyment at all. Whereas the conventional audience has a degree of s. expectancy which is zero, (we mean here the s. coming from the actor and the production on the stage in the moment of

performance—it does not welcome the s. in the actor and in the play, as it might interfere with their own s. in the experiencing of the production) the psychodramatic audience must have some degree of s. expectancy and with it a high degree of tolerance for imperfections, inconsistencies, fragmentariness and imbalances in order truly to enjoy the performance. What they experience is more painful, more lifelike, more like themselves, harder to accept because it is not always a flight from reality, but a deep penetration into its very essence, not only in content, but also in form and process. Therefore, just as the psychodramatic cast on the stage needs training, a psychodramatic audience too, needs training in the *perception of spontaneity* and s. appreciation, resulting in the saturation of audiences with the s. factor.

The average motion picture audience resembles in its attitude more nearly the conventional theatre audience than the audience of a psychodramatic session, (except of course that in the first situation only frozen images of people are seen, whereas in the second real people are acting). However, audiences attending therapeutic motion pictures must be developed more nearly after the pattern of psychodramatic audiences. The s. factor and the perception of s. must be stimulated and trained.

However important the adequate production of a therapeutic film may be, it has to be realized that the main object of a therapeutic motion picture is not the production process but the treatment of audiences. The therapeutic value which it has for the patients helping in the production by having helped themselves, is small compared to the help which it should prove to millions of audio-egos. The audience is really the patient for whom the film is made, and the benefit it derives from it is the final test of the film's usefulness. It is here again that the psychodramatic method has gathered some knowledge of the audience constellations. In the conventional theatre and moving picture theatre the audience has a laissez faire form, everyone is welcome who can buy his way to a seat. The formation of audiences in accord with therapeutic requirements is necessary just as a cast for production is essential—*the audience itself has to be cast*. The audience must be built at times homogeneously around certain mental syndromes, father-son conflicts, suicide conflicts, and so forth.

The new role of the audience in all psychodramatic procedures, whether applied to the theatre, film, radio or television, requires that the production should be carried out with a psychodramatic eye upon what a specific audience needs and what every audio-ego experiences in the course of the presentation of the film. It is often desirable to project the psychodramatic director, as he himself enters upon the stage and gives his comments in

the interludes, if not in persona, at least as a voice, into the film picture itself. The voice of the psychodramatic director may therefore be interwoven into the total picture, in a similar way as he appears in a psychodramatic session, not only just commenting and analyzing and clarifying, but arousing to action, interrupting and ending, using often methods of aggression, commanding, taking upon himself several roles which form the background of the scenes themselves. It may be wiser to photograph him in crucial moments only so that his actions may not dominate the picture, since it should be dominated as much as possible by the actor-patients themselves. He should rather take the form of a therapeutic prompter, a counterpart of the playwright and producer of the conventional stage. Every therapeutic film should be tested and re-tested before special psychodramatic audiences, previous to being released to the general public of patients. Every therapeutic film, when released to the public, should be accompanied by a list of instructions for the medical director who is to present the film to an audience anywhere in the country. At present our aim should be to use therapeutic motion pictures as supplements to or starters of actual therapeutic sessions. The director should function as a sort of director of the audience, complementing the function of the director within the film, stopping the film whenever necessary, making explanatory remarks, relating it to the specific audience facing him and repeating parts as required. Such films can be used as opening up a psychodramatic session and warming up a given audience gradually, proceeding immediately afterwards with an actual session, or at least, with a discussion of the audience's own reactions. In cases where no other treatment but mass treatment is possible, therapeutic films of this kind can be shown, but always with a mental reservation that it is a flight in the dark.

PRODUCTION OF THERAPEUTIC FILMS

The idea of therapeutic motion pictures or therapeutic films struck me a few years ago. The experiment* taught me a few lessons which may be of some use in the preparation of similar experiments. It is necessary to emphasize, first of all, that a good film producer with a brilliant script on hand and an excellent cast, is not able, by himself, to know how to produce a truly therapeutic motion picture. On the other hand, it must be recognized too, that a competent psychiatrist or psychoanalyst is not, by himself,

*A psychodramatic film was produced by the author in collaboration with Mr. S. Bates of Hudson, N. Y. The film was presented at the meeting of the American Psychiatric Association, in Washington, D. C., May 1935.

able to know how to produce one which has value. It is a new medium, a new form and a new process. It has no semblance to the interview situation in a psychoanalytic office or in a psychiatric hospital. It has to consist of pictures: scenes of action, role developments, climaxes and anti-climaxes. The team of a good director with a good psychiatrist, each ignorant of the domain of the other is not a solution for this task. Each of them might bring "cliches" along, one from his experiences with filming, the other from his experiences with patients. By the same token conventional playwrights and actors should be kept out of a psychodramatic film studio. They are not only ignorant of our purpose but tempted to project cliches from previous productions into the new experiment. It is not sufficient that a film producer makes up his mind to produce a picture which has a good moral and therapeutic effect. There might be exceptions of course, but in general the productions turned out are bound to be full of flaws. On the other hand, it is not easy for a psychiatrist to translate mental syndromes into action form. He has to be a dramatist first. There is, as we know, a method of psychotherapy which has given specialized attention to this problem: the psychodrama.*

In the making of pictures a producer-psychodramatist should follow, at least in the beginning, closely the manner in which a psychodrama in the flesh is developed in a therapeutic theatre. He has to start with the premise that the therapeutic aim is primary and the medium, whether film or television, secondary. He is not to make any concessions to mere entertainment, film tricks, beautiful scenery and happy endings unless they are an integral part of the therapeutic development of the plot. He should learn his clinical psychodrama first, which will teach him that there is nothing more dangerous for the beginner than to copy the trappings of the conventional theatre and of the motion picture studio. He has to insist on the lessons which psychodramatic experience has taught to directors as well as audiences.

PRINCIPLES OF PSYCHODRAMATIC PRODUCTION

The most important task of production is the finding of a *therapeutic form* of drama which is clear-cut and can be shared by all psychodramatic motion pictures, a form which is just as consistent within itself as the esthetic

*The psychodramatic approach to motion pictures has been in the networks for several years, but experiments like "Lady in the Dark" or "Now Voyager" are not adequate try-outs. To the contrary, they are abhorrent examples of a form of the drama neither fish nor flesh, neither entertainment nor therapy, because they try to provide both.

drama or the cartoon. The producer—in his form-finding search—should be conscious of the factors which make a psychodramatic session therapeutic so that he should try to translate these factors into the film. There are three factors at work in every session: a) the action on the stage between patients and auxiliary egos; they influence in turn every member of the audience; b) the action in the audience; one audio-ego can be a therapeutic agent to every other audio-ego; as they are influenced by the action on the stage, they in turn, counter-influence the actor-patient and auxiliary egos during the stage process, in the pauses between scenes, immediately after each scene and at the end of the session, by their reactions; c) the director, he exerts his influence upon the actor-patients on the stage and the audio-egos in the audience, and last but not least, by his analysis and comments. If we would disregard these therapeutic influences the result would be that a therapeutic motion picture would appear as Hamlet does in a conventional theatre, or Charlie Chaplin's tramp in a motion picture theatre. Even if we would imagine them further adapted to therapeutic aims they would influence the audience by what we psychodramatists know as a mirror technique, which is fine, but only one of the techniques used in therapeutic drama. What we need is a Shakespeare who undergoes a creative revolution in relationship to himself and to his characters, for instance, to Hamlet. Dr. Shakespeare sits in his office. The door opens, a man comes in and says: "I am Hamlet, Prince of Denmark. Night after night I hear my dead father's voice and I see his head looking at me. He talks to me but what he says leaves me confused. Possibly he wants me to be the King of Denmark." "Let's find out," says Shakespeare. "Let's," says Hamlet. And they enter the therapeutic theatre and begin to work. In the drama which now begins Shakespeare is continuously present, he has not left the play a finished product to a producer and a cast. He is not there to make a play. His purpose is to help a poor, melancholy man. He works with Hamlet in the present. It is not a fictitious Hamlet, it is a real Hamlet, more real than the historical Hamlet. Shakespeare himself is real, more real than the historical Shakespeare, he is the playwright in his real creativity, not as a posthumous ghost, and applying his creativity to a real person. *This* Shakespeare connects one scene with another, Hamlet with Polonius and with Ophelia, with the Queen and the King, his uncle. We see *how* he connects them and how he disconnects them. He works *with* the audience, he stops and analyzes, meditates from step to step, connects the audience before him with the actions on the stage, with the plans in his own mind, with the plans in Ophelia's mind, in Hamlet's mind, in the mind of all the players, in the minds of every spectator. We learn how this Hamlet became a Hamlet.

It is easier for him, Hamlet, to become Shakespeare than the reverse, for Shakespeare to become Hamlet. The psychodramatic process is a reversal of the normally dramatic. We, the spectators see how he *might* have become a Fortinbras. Every member of the audience turns into a Hamlet, everyone has his own version. But they are not only seeing a show, they are learning about themselves, about each other, and before the session ends a therapeutic way of learning has taken place which is not a dream-like experience, like the one which the conventional theatre offers, but one which is brought back and tied down to the intimate experiences of every individual spectator.

It would be a desideratum for the patient's reaction both on and off the stage, the director's reactions, the audience reactions, to be integrated into the motion picture. There will be many versions of Hamlet on the stage, they will vary with the individual patient and their problems, miles apart. There will also be many versions of a psychodramatic director, they will vary with the personality equation of the individual acting. I have pointed out previously that every psychiatrist and psychoanalyst acts in a role natural to his personality and if we could photograph them in their behavior towards the patient we will see many versions of role-playing psychiatrists. We should not deny a therapeutic motion picture audience the beneficial influence of the role-playing psychiatrist himself.

For a long time to come, until we know more about therapeutic motion picture production, a knowledge which cannot be attained but by ingenious and analytic experimentation, psychodramatic sessions will remain unreplaceable as the final arbiters of treatment success.

THE CAST

The cast, following the psychodramatic pattern, can consist of: a) actual patients for whom the production of the film is a part of their treatment, assisted by a number of auxiliary egos, a type of specialized, therapeutic actors (entirely unrelated to the conventional theatre or film) who portray the complimentary roles which the patient or patients need in the course of the film story; b) a cast of auxiliary egos, assisted by so-called informants, actual patients who are suffering from mental syndromes to be enacted at the time of the film production, (or who are just coming out of this morbid experience and are warmed up to a high degree of communicability) and for whom the process of film production is a part of their treatment. It is clear therefore, that the true ground of therapeutic motion pictures is actual, lived and living experience and not fiction, however significant the latter may be otherwise. In the present experimental phase

of making therapeutic motion pictures, the first version, a cast consisting of one or two central patients and auxiliary egos, is the safest development. Gradually, a permanent cast of auxiliary egos, saturated with the enactment of mental syndromes, coupled with experience in production and always surrounded by actual informants, can be tried. The third version, a psychodramatic director making pictures with a staff of auxiliary egos without a jury of informants, is an extremely risky task.

The advantages of using a cast consisting of auxiliary egos and patients is that the spontaneous actualities of mental experience can be captured in the picture. The patient is not an actor, he is just tormented by a certain experience and in living through this experience, he is serving himself and as a by-product, producing the film which may help many of his fellow-sufferers. Over-acting, melodramatic effects, if they are unrelated to the situation of the subject, would be more easily avoided. Instead of following a script and a playwright, director and egos follow a patient or a subject as their guide, putting it gradually into the framework of psychodramatic methods and techniques of presentation, and this again, not in an artificial way—for the purpose of making a film—but because it is helping the patient to find himself and get relief. The disadvantages of production by this method are of course considerable. It means parting from the many subtleties and niceties of regular picture-making: to make a picture perfect and smooth, to cut it short for effect, to encourage the patient to be a good actor, following certain models, is most undesirable, in fact, destructive to therapeutic filming. The patient must be left to find himself, to act on his own spontaneous level, to warm up his own way, and to be undramatic and unesthetic if necessary. All this of course, requires far more film-tape than in conventional pictures. The film photographer has to take far more pictures and he has to develop a special ingenuity in catching the performers in key moods and key positions. Cutting and putting the best parts together is a far more difficult job in this case than in an ordinary film, but expense and skill are more than compensated by the fact that a psychodramatic film does not require the expensive and elaborate settings of conventional motion pictures. They must be simple and direct, as they are dealing with the interior of the human mind exclusively. And further, a good therapeutic motion picture would develop permanent audiences all over the world, and just like a good book, could be shown not only seasonally, but for many years to come.

The change must be borne in mind which the conventional drama had to undergo in its transition from the theatre to motion pictures. In the beginning motion pictures clung to the theatrical model but developed

gradually free forms, better suited to the new medium. A similar development can be anticipated with therapeutic motion pictures, but in the beginning the psychodramatic form of production can provide a safe anchorage from which point to start experimenting. One thing must always be remembered. Action catharsis can never be replaced by spectator catharsis. It is in all cases only a preparatory step for the former. In minor maladjustments the learning and training process provided by spectator catharsis may be sufficient—action catharsis can take place *in situ*, that is, in the life situation itself, initiated by the patient in the form of self-realization and self-therapy. But for a large number of subjects action catharsis must be provided by actual psychodramatic sessions which will have to follow therapeutic motion picture projections. It remains to be seen whether the therapeutic pictures will be able to *reduce* the amount of action or participation of the audio-egos necessary for catharsis. One thing is clear enough, that action catharsis remains the focal point of therapy.

The producer of a therapeutic picture must therefore bear in mind that as he cannot provide action catharsis directly, he must do the most with the spectator catharsis. Audiences are his main frame of reference, not just audiences in a generalized sense, but audiences of patients or, more broadly speaking, of subjects, special audiences because of some cultural or mental syndrome. A therapeutic motion picture studio should have therefore, patient actors and psychiatrically trained directors, test audiences which are confronted with parts of motion pictures as they are in the process of production. Their reactions to what they experience when seeing a film may guide a producer in the delicate job of cutting and editing. It must be clear that we do not mean here a preview of a picture after it is finished, but a continuous testing of a film in progress, using the subjects for whom it is meant as a jury. Such a test audience may consist of only a few persons whose sensitivity can be trained to a high degree of reliability. It may very well be that the most therapeutically effective motion pictures will be such films which do not show the end production, but the process in development itself, the status nascendi and the intermediary stages. Much of that which is cut and edited because it lacks smoothness and directness may be worthwhile therapeutically and much which is smooth and direct may only aid in the glamorous escape from the real issue. This is one of the experiences of the psychodrama form which brings the patient-actor in his nakedness and his *status nascendi* and shows up the unfinished fragmentary parts of his life situation.

Summing up, two general methods of production can be differentiated: the *patient-actor method*, in which a patient is the chief actor as well as

chief informant, and *the ego-actor method*, in which an auxiliary is the chief actor and the patient merely the chief informant. The patient-actor method is simpler and should be the quickest way to good results in the present experimental phase of production. Of course the patient himself has to be selected among many who have the same type of problem and chosen because of two attributes: a crucial personal experience touching on all aspects of the syndrome in question, and superior dramatic qualifications. The ego-actor method requires more permanent organization of a cast, a staff of auxiliary egos who have worked with patients in some auxiliary ego parts and who have been trained in mirroring patients on the stage, using patients themselves as a check to the truthfulness of their actions. Highly sensitized egos endowed with a profound subjectivistic imitative talent, can be used as chief actors, using of course, actual patients as informants who check every phase of their production. A particularly effective relationship found in psychodramatic work is a reversal method, that is, letting an auxiliary ego be the chief actor—the patient, the patient himself acting in a minor role, like an auxiliary ego to himself. It is probable that once studios for therapeutic motion pictures are permanent, the actors will be trained for every type of syndrome. But whatever the future developments, they should never be permitted to finish a production by themselves, without the censorship of actual informants. It is probable that—as we have found in theatres for spontaneity, a new type of playwright—a psychodramatic one—will come into being, not one who writes scripts but whose imaginative aptitudes for certain experiences will lend themselves to the prompting of actions and action developments.

ILLUSTRATION OF A FILM PRODUCTION IN THE MAKING

First Phase: A series of psychodramatic sessions are run which have chiefly one aim: to get the scenic material out of a patient, to get him to act in as many situations as are relevant to his problem, regardless of their value for motion picture taking, working on them with auxiliary egos with an eye towards determining the best possible team for a final picture cast. In this material-gathering phase careful records are made, but the photographic shots made may be only few.

Second Phase—Stage of Reconstruction

As it often happens in the course of the psychodramatic process that after a number of sessions the total development of the patient's problem is reviewed by the director and, so to speak, a "development" psychodrama is put together, the director of motion pictures, before he begins with his

job of filming, should be provided with a final psychodrama of the subject, reconstructed by the psychodramatic director on the basis of the materials obtained in the course of treatment. In other words, the job of editing the psychodramatic material will go through two steps. The one to be done by the psychodramatic director himself, the second by the film director who may continue the editing and cutting as the film itself is prepared. An illustration might indicate the method of procedure. A subject, John, worked out on the stage a number of situations which had great therapeutic effect, but no sequence and no growing tendency towards a climax from the point of view of the spectator. His problem was thus: after having been drafted and placed in a military camp for a few months' training, he ran away from it in a moment of confusion and was picked up and brought back to camp. Subsequently he was discharged. In one scene he showed how he walked off, in another how he was picked up and brought back to camp, in a third scene the return to his family. In the second session, however, he came forth with his visions of glorious deeds and death in battle, which he had had previous to his induction. In another scene he depicted a situation in a drugstore, being refused a large quantity of a sedative with which he contemplated to commit suicide. In a later scene he portrayed disappointment with his status in the army and clashes with superior officers, in another scene his running away from home at the age of six, landing in a police station and in a final scene his feeling of shame for his own poor background and for his undistinguished family. In a reconstruction plan for motion picture aims the psychodramatic process might open up with his hero and death visions at induction, followed up by a fit of depression after the first clash in the military camp. Next the suicidal plan leading up to the walk which he took one morning, running away and leaving behind himself, the soldier. In the last scenes he is picked up and brought back to face the military authorities. This new sequence must be carefully planned and worked out, the subject and his auxiliary egos are directed to re-enter these scenes but to give as many spontaneous versions of each of them as required. An alternative of production would be that one of the co-acting auxiliary egos is directed to give his own version of John's psychodramatic development, within the sequence established by the producer. Every psychodramatic version, in sections and in full, is at last presented before a test audience. The version which arouses the deepest catharsis is chosen.

Third Phase—Stage of Filming

The film process is the result of the co-operation of several agents: the director, the operator, the cast, the informants and the test audience. The

psychodramatic composition, before it reaches the stage of filming, has been tested as to its therapeutic fitness, that is, broken up into scenic units and a test audience exposed to each of the units. The composition which reaches the film stage is therefore a carefully sifted product. The process of sieving out undesirable parts should be continued during the film process itself, as it is not just the content of a script which is decisive, but the action process and the role-taking in the moment of filming. The same script might be turned by one cast into a wholesome effect, by another cast into the opposite. The informants, individuals who have experienced the mental syndromes to be portrayed, are therefore indispensable at this stage when the content of the film is irrevocably determined. They are of special importance if the cast does not consist of patients, but of therapeutic actors, auxiliary egos. The therapeutic motion picture is examined by a test audience in the different stages of its development, in the material-gathering phase before any filming is done, in the reconstruction phase when the psychodrama is structured as a whole, and in the filming stage when every part of the film is checked. The final arbiter is the test audience which is exposed to the motion picture itself, a situation which is analogous to the one for which the picture is meant. Systematic research of audience reactions to motion pictures in mental institutions as well as in the community at large will gradually lead to a better understanding of what units should be left out of a therapeutic film. In time to come we will know how many categories of audiences there are to be reached and will produce motion pictures fitting the requirements of each.

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BOOK REVIEW

Cantril, Hadley, *Gauging Public Opinion*, Princeton University Press, 1944,
pp. 318, \$3.75.

"The Sociometry of Public Opinion" could have been chosen as the title for this excellent book on the methods of public opinion polling. The author is Director of the Office of Public Opinion Research, a foundation-financed organization whose headquarters are at Princeton, New Jersey, where George Gallup's American Institute of Public Opinion is located. There is a close working relationship between the two organizations, and all of the Gallup polls and facilities were available to Mr. Cantril. The book is dedicated to George Gallup.

Although the volume is primarily a progress report written by and for researchers, others will find it valuable. The enthusiast who tends to accept poll results uncritically will have his enthusiasm tempered by a realization that polling is an art based upon a growing science and hence not an open field for amateurs. Poll results are not to be accepted at face value unless properly gathered according to increasingly definite rules regarding sampling, wording of questions, and so forth. On the other hand, *Gauging Public Opinion* is an ideal book for the sceptic who doubts the validity of the polls. Here he will be shown that polling is not verbal legerdemain. He will learn that some of his fears are shared by experts and should gain a new respect for the careful work being done to perfect this new research tool.

The book is divided into six parts. The first concerns "Problems Involved in Setting the Issues" and includes chapters on the meaning and wording of questions. Clever experiments which test the results to be obtained by different forms of questions are reported. A chapter by Daniel Katz describes devices used to measure the intensity of opinion, that is, the superficiality or strength of convictions. A short chapter on "The Use and Value of a Battery of Questions" introduces the reader to interesting possibilities but tantalizes him because the data is so telescoped in presentation that it is not clear.

Part Two deals with "Problems Connected with Interviewing." The use of a secret ballot is found to influence results when questions have a prestige element to which the respondent is sensitive. Here, as throughout the book, the reporting of new research data is not supplemented to as great an extent as would be desirable by references to other studies on the same topics. (In the present connection, an article by Harry H. Field and Gordon M. Connelly, "Testing Polls in Public Election Booths," *Public Opinion*

Quarterly, Winter, 1942, might have been cited.) A comparison of the work of interviewers with and without personally supervised training throws doubt on whether the additional expense of elaborate training programs is justified. In spite of these findings, however, the author of the chapter, Mr. Donald Rugg, reports that the American Institute of Public Opinion has inaugurated a policy of increased training for their interviewers.

The reliability of the interviewers' classification of respondents into age, economic status, and other categories is measured in a competent chapter by Mr. Frederick Mosteller. Here, too, is an example of the many revealing sidelights on matters of general sociological interest: There seems to be a tendency on the part of higher income groups to classify themselves in somewhat lower brackets than they are, and of the poor to overestimate their income level.

The chapter on interviewer bias describes how the interviewers' own opinions can influence poll results. Class or racial differences between interviewers and respondents were found to prevent rapport and hence also to distort the results. A technical appendix indicates how the effects of bias can be controlled by statistical methods. A brief study of the kind of people who refuse to be interviewed indicates that their number is too small and their characteristics are too representative of the total group to affect appreciably the poll results.

One of the most informative sections of the book is Part Three, "Some Problems in Sampling." An excellent brief statement of the general principles of sampling is contributed by J. Stevens Stock of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the Department of Agriculture. This is followed by a critical analysis of the controlled variables in representative sampling. A discussion of the use of small samples indicates that on some questions national opinion can be measured by a surprisingly small number of cases.

The next section indicates how polling techniques can be applied to the difficult problem of what determines opinion. One of the easiest methods is to divide the sample into various breakdowns in terms of such characteristics as age, income, education, geographic section, and so forth to see whether these produce differences in opinion. The question as to whether people who are well informed have different opinions from the poorly informed is explored by Frederick Williams. The effect of current events upon public opinion is studied in a brief chapter by Mr. Cantril on the use of trends. On the basis of the trend studies he sets forth seventeen "Laws of Public Opinion" which admittedly are tentative but which constitute hypotheses of interest to the social scientist.

Part Five and a long technical appendix, both written by John Harding,

is a study of the applicability of polling methods to the measurement of civilian morale. Defining morale as "a psychological factor which *makes a difference* to the success or failure of an enterprise," certain clusters of attitudes were isolated as tentative "components" of morale. Each component was validated by its correlation with a "participation score" which measured the respondents' own reports of their civilian defense, salvage, and bond buying activities. Unfortunately, no attempt was made to validate the participation index. The study differentiates three "dimensions of morale" as follows: "Reasoned determination to achieve the objective," "Confidence in leaders," and "Satisfaction with traditional values" according to which group differences in morale are measured. This seems as good a way as any to objectify the very elusive concept of morale.

The book ends with several appendices. Those entitled "Sampling and Breakdowns," "Charts Indicating Confidence Limits and Critical Differences between Percentages," "Maps," and "Bibliography of Research, 1936-1943" will be particularly useful to the research worker. In fact, he will be pleased with the book as a whole except for a few tables which lack base figures and so are difficult to interpret. The printing and format are pleasant.

In conclusion, let us make two observations: The first is that the book raises an important point regarding the ethics of the authorship of group researches, especially when foundation financed. From the footnotes to each chapter heading it appears that less than one third of the book was written by Mr. Cantril. Whether or not some of the other authors might have received recognition in the Table of Contents or on the title page is a delicate question which we merely raise. The second observation is that the authors have occasionally interpreted the rather controversial data in line with their own opinions and sentiments. The reader who does not happen to agree with majority opinion may object to some of the gratuitous statements such as the one on page 14 that a certain attitude "expressed what is commonly regarded as the most enlightened point of view. . ." However, the reader will have no difficulty identifying the occasional extraneous value-judgments and the reviewer can wholeheartedly recommend the book as stimulating to the researcher and as highly informative to the layman.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS

New Contributing Editors of Sociometry

We are glad to announce that the following have been added to the board of contributing editors to *Sociometry*: Dr. Kurt Lewin, Iowa Child Welfare Research Station, University of Iowa, and Dr. Ronald Lippitt, Research and Statistical Service, Boy Scouts of America.

Sociometry of Subhuman Groups

The November 1944, Volume 7, Number 4, issue of the journal will be dedicated to the above topic.

Sociometry and Current Events

A special issue, February 1945, Volume 8, Number 1, has been set aside for the study of relationships between sociometry and current events.

American Sociological Society, Section on Sociometry, 1944

Chairman of the section on Sociometry for the annual meeting is Dr. Raymond F. Sletto, Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Sociometric Institute, Washington, D. C.

A permanent office of the Sociometric Institute, 101 Park Avenue, New York City, has been established in Washington, D. C., at 1108 Sixteenth Street, N.W. J. L. Moreno, M.D., is Director, Helen Hall Jennings, Ph.D., Associate Director.

Books Received

George Gallup, "A Guide to Public Opinion Polls," Princeton University Press, 1944; J. McV. Hunt, Editor, "Personality and the Behavior Disorders," A Handbook based on Experimental and Clinical Research, Two Volumes, The Ronald Press Co., New York, 1944; Harold E. Jones, "Development in Adolescence," Appleton Century, New York, 1943; Frank J. Sladen, Editor, "Psychiatry and the War," Clark E. Thomas, Springfield, Illinois and Baltimore, Maryland, 1943.

PSYCHODRAMA AND GROUP PSYCHOTHERAPY

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*Society for Psychodrama and Group Psychotherapy, Second Annual Meeting,
May 12, 1944*

The meeting was opened by Dr. Fredric Feichtinger. The activities of the Institute on the development of psychodrama and group psychotherapy were reported. More than 7,500 students have attended sessions and lectures since the foundation of the Psychodramatic Institute in 1942. Dr. J. L. Moreno spoke on the historical development of psychodramatic theory and practice. Discussants were Dr. Bruno Solby, Mental Hygiene Unit, U. S. Public Health Service Dispensary; Dr. Alfred P. Solomon, College of Medicine, University of Illinois in Chicago; Mr. Nahum E. Shoobs, Assistant Principal of Public School 157, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Psychodramatic Institute, New York City, New Research Group Formed

The original research group with Paul Cornyetz as chairman meets every Tuesday evening. A new group has been formed with Shirley Glasser as chairman, which meets every Wednesday evening.

Psychodramatic Institute, Beacon, N. Y.

Florence B. Moreno, Associate Director, is conducting two therapeutic sessions a week and is experimenting with the psychodramatic approach to nursery schools.

Psychodramatic Institute, Washington, D. C.

A permanent office of the Psychodramatic Institute, New York City, has been established at 1108 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. J. L. Moreno, M.D., is Director, Helen Hall Jennings, Ph.D., Administrative Director.

Boy Scouts of America, Sociodramatic Sessions

Dr. Charles E. Hendry initiated sociodrama in connection with the National Leader Training experiment. It was used at the Treasure Island Scout Camp in Philadelphia and with a group of Scout Commissioners at the Siowanoy Council in Westchester County. The experiment proved rewarding; it is now being recognized for use throughout the country. Mr. Hendry has introduced sociodramatic work at the Riverside Church, New York City and initiated a demonstration at the Annual Conference of the American Association for the Study of Group Work in Cleveland, with Dr. Genevieve Chase of the Girl Scouts, as director.

HOW TO ORGANIZE A PSYCHODRAMATIC UNIT

JOHN DEL TORTO AND PAUL CORNYETZ

Psychodramatic Institute, New York City

The psychodramatic technique is a flexible instrument for the investigation of individual personality and its interrelations with other personalities. Psychodrama is a deep action method, revealing the structure and behavior of the individual. The concept of spontaneity extends the utility of the method to the fields of education and training as well as research and psychotherapy. At the basis of the psychodrama is the concept of the situation and a philosophy of the moment. The flexibility of this instrument makes variation of application possible without loss of scientific accuracy. There is not just one psychodrama, but many psychodramas, each with its particular use and value.

The philosophy of the moment as analyzed by Dr. J. L. Moreno has developed into three forms of the psychodrama: (1) the Spontaneity Theatre, (2) the dramatized or Living Newspaper, and (3) the Therapeutic Theatre.

The Spontaneity Theatre differs from the professional theatre in its treatment of the moment. The latter presents action before the audience as completed, conserved creation: the vitality of the living moment is ignored. The former attempts to produce the moment itself, "status nascendi," and to create as integral parts of itself the content and the form of the drama.

The Living Newspaper brings to life the events of the day as they occur and presents them for audience participation, interpretation, and reaction. The first dramatized newspaper was launched in Vienna, and can be considered a forerunner of the pseudo-spontaneous, mechanical forms: "Movietone News," "The March of Time," "The Living Newspaper" of the WPA, and "Modern Radio News Broadcasts." The Television news broadcast of the future will certainly incorporate the dramatic, vital presentation first used by Dr. Moreno in Vienna.

In the field of therapy, psychoneuroses and psychoses can be treated successfully by means of the psychodrama. It is even possible for psychodramatic methods to work effectively with cases rejected by Freudians because transference is impossible. Fundamental to the understanding of this technique are psychodramatic methods which objectify the "imaginary reality" of the patients and channelize and anchor their delusions. This makes them more susceptible to correction and guidance with the aid of the director and the staff of auxiliary egos. The Therapeutic theatre has initiated a systematic course of treatment in which there is a maximum

degree of spontaneous participation and leadership on the part of the patient. With psychodrama we are able to prevent further deterioration and train the patients to meet situations which are common in the outside world.

The growing utility of psychodramatic methods has been recognized in the fields of medicine, clinical psychology, education, experimental research into personality, rehabilitation of institutionalized persons, psychiatric social work, and in the study of social units.

The training of teachers directly comes into consideration in the field of education. Testing the spontaneity of prospective teachers to discover the range of rôles in which they are capable of functioning, and further, training spontaneity could help teachers to meet any situation that might occur in the classroom. It would also give them a better understanding of the individuality and creativity of the students. The Leadership Training Workshop at the New School of Social Research, under the direction of Dr. Ronald Lippitt, is conducting a "leadership-rôle-playing-laboratory" as a method of preparing members for a more effective part in democratic group leadership.

Closely integrated with psychodramatic are sociometric techniques designed to study social units, their cultural and social atoms. Zerka Toeman is at present conducting a research into the problems of pre-marital couples, and psychodrama has been used in the treatment of marriage problems. The subjects work out their difficulties, seeking a solution of the conflicts. Auxiliary egos are used to substitute living-partners of the subject who are absent. Assistants, who have acted in such a capacity, report that they have experienced a catharsis and also "grow wiser and more versatile in their own spheres of living." Sociometry has made a developmental study of marital relationships in tracing the dynamics and merging of social atoms (i.e., the person's constellation of emotional relationships) and cultural atoms (i.e., rôles which a person is capable of taking).

As an experimental tool in personality research, psychodrama considers the spontaneous, creating individual as contrasted with the tendency of the psychologist to study memory and the intelligence statically. We are engaged in a study of the concept of spontaneity in order to devise a spontaneity scale and a spontaneity quotient for an individual. At St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington, D. C., personality problems arose in the rehabilitation of convalescing members of the Armed Forces. They are being studied and treated by means of group psychodrama.

With the growing awareness of the use of psychodramatic methods in all these fields has come the need for a spread of information relating

to the organization of psychodramatic clinics. This article is intended to satisfy that need.

THE STAGE

Dr. Moreno has said that the psychodrama *can* be conducted almost anywhere, but best results are obtained in a theatre especially designed for that purpose. The psychodramatic institute is generally a small auditorium. In order that the arrangement of the audience be as spontaneous as possible, the chairs should be movable.

The stage consists (for aesthetic and functional reasons) of a circular platform of several concentric levels. The levels are to be compared to levels in life, and also levels of the warming-up process. The powerful individual will play from the higher levels whereas the depressed person may perform on the lower ones. The top level should be large enough to accommodate a table and several straight-backed chairs without affecting freedom of movement. It is important that there be room enough for the egos and the subject to express themselves spatially. Simulating furniture and scenery as required by arranging the chairs and table is a simple matter. With a little imagination, one can place the chairs to represent a motor-boat or bed or a mountain to be climbed, as the situation requires. There is no proscenium arch as in the professional stage, no excess of decorations to distract the mind or the eye. The stage designed by Dr. Moreno has two simple pillars which support a balcony upon which "superior egos" or gods may perform. It is not absolutely necessary to have the balcony but the pillars give a vertical dimension to the stage an illusion of height, and serve to free the expression.

In a case of religious psychosis, the patient journeyed from heaven to hell with the aid of changes in light effects. In his heaven, the mingling of blue and red lights gave a feeling of airiness. With dramatic changes and the elimination of all colors except the red, he was plunged into hell where he struggled with the devil. In many more cases, the use of light has spontaneously suggested moods and feelings. A spotlight, throwing contrasting lights and shadows across the stage, will serve the subject in the presentation of his conflict. A simple system of lights with color gelatins can be used to assist the feeling of the action.

The Director may require histories of the persons being treated to analyze those areas in which spontaneity training is needed. For this purpose, one must have some method for recording the proceedings of each session. The simplest way of doing this is by stenographic notes containing movement and gesture as well as verbal material. It may be

desirable to have sound recordings and films. In time, a library of films of typical situations of conflict can be used in group psychotherapy. Further, an analysis of the common denominators of these films may be used as research into social problems and for establishing clearer clinical pictures of psychoneuroses and psychoses.

THE DIRECTOR

Important factors in psychodrama are the Director and auxiliary egos. The Director conducts the session, instructs the auxiliary egos, and must be aware of the total situation as it develops. The auxiliary egos must be highly spontaneous individuals, capable of taking and performing any rôle that may be required of them on the spur of the moment. The auxiliary egos objectify and support the spontaneous creations of the subject.

The Director must be a person of extraordinary initiative, spontaneity, and intelligence. The participants determine the solution of the situation, the solution being that which brings them the optimum degree of equilibrium. The Director must constantly keep this in mind. He must be versatile enough to assist the subjects in the freest expression of their problems, and their solution. In the interview, he forms a broad picture of the social and cultural atoms of each of the persons involved, and goes quickly to the problem, using clues offered and suggested by the subject. If the subjects are reluctant in the interview it is often desirable to put them directly on the stage. If they refuse to begin action in any of the critical situations revealed during interview, the Director must assist them in getting started. This may be done in many ways. He may start with situations peripheral to their "ego" by shifting their attention quickly from one plot to another, and work towards the core of their problem. He may begin with a situation that is pleasant or ask the subject to pick any situation at random, this may even be a "future" situation. If the subject is still shy, perhaps an approach through the symbolic situation will be successful. The symbolic situation contains the problem of the subject without his being personally involved. If this does not start the action, the Director must not shock, antagonize, or paralyze the subject by pleading or insisting too strongly. He may send the subject back to his seat and use him as an auxiliary ego in another person's problem, similar to his. When the subject has finally entered a crucial situation, the Director must prevent the work from lagging. If necessary, he may suggest a new start or send in a new auxiliary ego to prompt the action.

A skilled Director must know which of the ideas produced are central.

This will depend, of course, on the particular problem and the type of psychodrama involved. For the purposes of the Living Newspaper, the central ideas will be drawn from life. In the Therapeutic Theatre, the ideas must come from the patient's private milieu. In the Spontaneity Theatre, originality and social creation are important.

In the spontaneous situations themselves, the Director must be able to function on a rapid, intuitive level. In the course of his experience, he will acquire a few general rules in regard to the dominant idea, desirable tempos of action, position on the stage, and fruitful interaction of the persons involved. He must sense in the perspective of each situation the proper time to introduce themes. Too early and abrupt an introduction of an idea may produce greater tensions than if introduced when ripe for presentation; for work in spontaneity does not mean emotionalism or impulsiveness, but an organized approach in the study of the personality. The Director may organize situations and ideas to produce development of character and unity of motivation.

THE AUXILIARY EGOS

The psychodramatic method is replacing the interview method as a more objective approach to the subject. On the stage, the subject spontaneously projects his social and cultural atoms. Further, he is "warmed up" to his social and cultural atoms by the auxiliary egos in a manner which makes him more communicative. The stimulus of action promotes the free expression of many details which would have been left unrevealed.

Psychoanalysis is a method of therapy based upon conversation, which is essentially an extended interview. During the therapy, the rôle of the psychoanalyst is an unknown quantity. This would make us doubt the validity of the analysis. Although transference is of primary importance in psychoanalysis, the situation in which it operates is left undefined. If, for example, the psychoanalyst plays the rôle of a father in a transference, his own feelings may influence the situation. The concept of transference in psychoanalysis makes use of the concept of "rôle-taking" whether or not the psychoanalyst is aware of this. However, the rôles taken are not studied and objectified. In psychodrama, the rôles *are* studied and objectified. Psychodramatic concepts of rôle-taking include the concept of transference. A further disadvantage of the undefined transference is that the subject may become dependent on the psychoanalyst and the transference may not be resolved. In psychodrama, transference is reduced to

a minimum, and the subject is encouraged to solve his own problems with the aid of the auxiliary egos.

The auxiliary ego is a person trained to take rôles which may be demanded by the patient's needs. The rôles are not given, they emerge, they are created before our eyes. Therefore, we must be ready to study the rôles "in vivo," as they are being created. But also we must maintain a scientific frame of reference and of measurable evidence. We must be able to clearly define the stimulus which the auxiliary ego may be to the subjects of his investigations. And further, we must know the range of rôles and the range of expansiveness within each rôle that the auxiliary ego is capable of assuming. We must classify each auxiliary ego with respect to his range of rôles and his patterns of presenting them. In this way, we may establish a frame of reference by which to test all subjects upon the stage. In his article "A Frame of Reference for the Social Investigator," Dr. Moreno has discussed this procedure in great detail, and has presented a series of tests designed for that purpose.

Important criteria for testing the spontaneity of the auxiliary ego are measurements of the duration of the spontaneous state and its intensity. We may get a general notion of these factors from a calculation of the dynamic interrelation between acts and pauses. A high degree of spontaneity may be revealed in the expression of a large number of ideas, gestures, and movements observed per unit time. We may note also the range of vocabulary, of phraseology and versatility of ideas.

The method of objectifying the auxiliary ego consists in testing in typical life-situations. We shall outline the test-procedure, which is more fully discussed in the above-mentioned article.

TESTING IN TYPICAL LIFE SITUATIONS

A. *Preparation of the Tester:*

1. The tester has already been found adequate; his range and pattern of rôles has been determined.
2. The tester knows the situation in advance.
3. He gives a carefully controlled performance.
4. He presents the same psychodramatic stimulus to each prospective auxiliary ego being tested.
5. He takes the testee by surprise with the dramatic motif of the situation.
6. The testee cannot change the tester's rôle up to the disclosure of the motif.
7. However, after this disclosure, the tester becomes flexible, ready to move with the testee's response.

B. Instructions for the testee (the prospective auxiliary ego):

1. Identical for every testee.

C. Instructions for the Recorders (two recorders as mutual check; one records the words and the other the gestures with time for each). They are to record the duration of:

1. Instructions to the testee.
2. The starting interval.
3. The standardized portion of the test (from the start to the motif disclosure).
4. From the motif disclosure to the end.

In this manner, the range and expansiveness of the rôles of each auxiliary ego become clearly defined. The auxiliary egos are retested from time to time to keep aware of any changes in their rôle-capabilities.

There are practical considerations involved. Where are the auxiliary egos to be found? How are they to be recruited? This is not too difficult as has been demonstrated in the establishment of the theatre of the Psychodrama at St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington, D. C. In that instance, physicians, occupational therapists, the nursing staff, attendants, recreational workers, psychiatric social workers, who were connected with the hospital, were willing and able to coöperate, as were other patients. A card index of rôle-capacities of each person should be kept. In colleges and universities, auxiliary egos may be found among the advanced students and the teachers. In employment agencies and personnel department of industry, the staff members and workers themselves may serve.

MAN IS THE MEASURE . . .

READ BAIN

Miami University, Oxford, Ohio

Psychopathic Interlude. Many people think a psychosis is "much more serious" than a neurosis. Psychosis suggests insanity, raving, violence, and sudden death; neurosis implies "peculiar behavior" which is often more annoying or amusing than dangerous. Some psychiatrists call compulsive, repetitive, maladjustive behavior neurotic when it is accompanied by irrational worry, fear, and dread; when the latter characteristic is lacking, when the patient is unconscious of the irrational and compulsive nature of his behavior, when he lacks "insight," he is psychotic. If we accept this view, it follows that some psychoses may be mild and relatively harmless and that some neuroses may be dangerous and destructive both to the patient and to others.

A neurosis may be accompanied by transfer of affect as in psychosomatic illness, irrational hates, fears, loves, and loyalties. When the patient is unconscious that these modes of feeling and acting are caused by his basic neurosis, these transfer symptoms should be called *derived* psychoses. Correspondingly, a basic psychosis may give rise to *derived* neurosis. It is likely there are always some derived neuroses connected with every basic psychosis, and vice versa; some psychoses may be derived from a basic psychosis, some neuroses from a basic neurosis, and either a basic neurosis or psychosis may have both derivative psychoses and neuroses attached to it. It is unlikely that *all* derived neurotic and psychotic habits disappear when the basic neurosis or psychosis is cured but it is certain that many do. Much psychotherapy may fail because *derivative* rather than *basic* neuroses and psychoses are treated. The failure is due to incorrect diagnosis rather than to wrong therapy.

Medical therapy often fails for the same reason. Referred pains, organ and systemic deficiencies may be treated for years with no results save temporary relief. The condition is called "chronic" because the basic physiological or structural difficulty has not been found. If the basic condition is found and properly treated, the so-called "chronic symptoms" disappear. Cure the focal infection, restore endocrine balance, remedy vitamin deficiency, remove the foreign growth or substance, etc., and the "chronic" headache, backache, "rheumatism," poor vision, digestive disturbances, hypo- or hypertension, etc., clear up at once. There is little doubt that many such "chronic conditions," both organic and systemic, are transfer symptoms

from functional neurotic and psychotic conditions. One of the most promising developments in modern medicine is psychosomatic diagnosis and therapy. It will help eliminate such societal psychoses as Caverns at Lourdes, Aimee Semple McPherson, Christian Science, and all other "divine healing" sects. Psychosomatic medicine will cure many stubborn, "chronic," and apparently incurable physical ailments. It will cure many of those who "enjoy" ill health and those who go through life apathetic and only half alive. It will give many people the sense of power and self-confidence, the initiative and drive, which used to be attributed to the presence of the Holy Ghost. Moreno's Spontaneity Training is a method of freeing personalities from psychopathic inhibitions, whether they be neurotic or psychotic. "Creative" people often are merely persons who have developed ways of escaping from the restraining rigidities of their past, ways of "letting themselves go" in the dynamic surge of the moment. The creative act is always an explosive act of the moment though it may take years to embody it in satisfactory artistic form or validate it by scientific test and retest.

Identical behavior may be neurotic for one person and psychotic for another. Likewise, the same behavior may be psychotic for a certain person at one time and neurotic at another time; and vice versa. A functional psychosis probably cannot be cured without being transferred into a neurosis, at least for a time. Perhaps most of us have mild (and sometimes severe) psychoses and neuroses at some time in our lives from which we recover without psychotherapy just as we all recover from bodily malfunctioning, repel infections, and repair tissues damages without the aid of a doctor. However, we know that both psychic and biologic "scars" often remain after such "recoveries" and may give serious trouble in later years.

There has been a good deal of mystical hooey written about the "wisdom of the body" by people who have deanthropomorphized God and seek to fill the gap thus left in their philosophy of life by reifying nature. They often write it with a capital "N" and endow it with all the teleological virtues of a universal alma mater. There is still more of this dubious twaddle about the "wisdom of the soul," or personality, or mental-emotional behavior. Many people cannot escape the primitive-minded, polaric mode of thinking about man's "mind": it is basically "good"—or "bad"; "Nature" will take care of everything if we just keep our hands off; or "natural instincts" are "sound and constructive"—or "wicked and destructive"; God and the devil become "Life and Death instincts"; and so on. Such people frequently glorify "commonsense" and hold that "theory" and "sci-

ence" are impractical and ridiculous—look at "any" psychologist's or sociologist's children. There is a terrible fear-ridden inertia in man: "when in doubt, trust the Lord"—or Nature, or tradition. There is a fatalistic monomania which is convinced that "taking thought" not only cannot add to a man's nature but will subtract cubits therefrom; that the leopard not only cannot change his spots but will probably lose his skin if he tries. "You cannot change human nature." This fatalistic determinism is often the result of the little learning that is a dangerous thing: knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers.

Of course, all human history refutes this childish view: from first-hatchet to hydraulic hammer; from bludgeon to block-buster; from shank's pony to stratospheric flight; from shouting to two-way radio and television; from scraggly seeds to hybrid corn; from 2,000 pounds of milk per cow per year to 40,000; from herbs and simples to sulfa drugs; and so on till the brain reels. Now we are beginning to deal with "minds," "personalities," and "social structures" as we have learned to deal with physical and biological objects. We are changing human nature; within limits, we can "construct" personalities and engineer social orders; we can doctor the "soul" and direct our personal and societal destiny.

Here is a potential revolution in human culture which will make child's play of the world-shaking transitions from Ptolemy to Newton to Einstein, from handicraft to automatic machine, from barter to world economy, from magic and sorcery to immune sera and modern surgery, from boiling and burning to synthetic chemistry. If Newton was a little boy picking up a few colored shells on the seashore, we today are infants in cribs clutching at dusty rays of light reflected from the vast universe of man's cumulative age-old culture.

Thus we come full circle: from psychopathy to sociopathy; from man as a unique phenomenon to a unified universe, limitless in scope, in which all things work together for good to them that love science. We see man becoming a conscious and creative controller of his physical and biological environment; through a glass darkly, we see him beginning to master his personal and groupal environment as well.

Biopathy, Psychopathy, and Sociopathy. Culture cannot be understood completely until the concepts "societal neurosis" and "societal psychosis" are scientifically defined. Sociopathic concepts must become as accurate and amoral as biopathic concepts are. At present, about all sociopathy means is that the speaker does not like the conditions to which he refers. To a lesser degree, this is also true of personopathic, or psychopathic,

concepts. Many laymen call people neurotic or psychotic merely because the speakers do not like what other people say or do. So long as sociopathic and psychopathic terms are subjective, connotative, and normative rather than objective, denotative, and scientific, natural sciences in these fields will be non-existent. It will require long and arduous coöperation between theorists and clinicians to remedy this condition.

Consider the question of *basic* neuroses and psychoses. I have used the concept to denote any specific psychopathic syndrome which results in bio-, psycho-, or sociopathic behavior, especially when *derived* neuroses or psychoses can be observed. The only reason for calling such psychopathy *basic* is that it plays a dominant rôle in the behavior of the patient. A neurosis or psychosis that is *basic* for one patient might be *derived* for another; or a derived "mental" or psychosomatic illness might remain unresolved after the basic syndrome has yielded to therapy or time. In such a case, the derived illness might become *basic* and produce other derived neuroses or psychoses.

This is a very loose and possibly confusing use of "basic" and "derived." It can be justified only if it is useful in describing what can be observed. "Masking of effect" is a commonplace in biopathic behavior; it is still more common in psychopathic illness; it also can be observed in sociopathic conditions. Suppose we regard the organized liquor traffic as a *basic* sociopathic syndrome. We may now define as *derived* sociopathies such things as prostitution, gambling, drug rings, bootlegging, and other forms of racketeering which are associated with the distribution of liquor. In some instances, one of these may be basic and the liquor organization derivative from it. The basic liquor syndrome may be eliminated and one or more of the derivative structures continue. Chapin's discussion of those "latent culture patterns" which are socially harmful seems somewhat similar to this conception.

It should be borne in mind that the writer believes, though he is not very sure of it, that an individual may be personally non-psychopathic while he is functioning in a sociopathic structure just as he may be neurotic or psychotic in his adjustment to any type of normal social organization. Though many people who function in illegal or socially condemned organizations are doubtless psychopathic, I believe it is a grave error to assume, as many do, that all such people are more psychopathic than the general run of so-called normal people.

Some have held that the common types of mental illness such as schizophrenia, paranoia, cyclothymia, psychasthenia, and all the marked phobias

and manias, whether neurotic or psychotic, are *basic*. However these are merely descriptive, not etiological, terms and hence cannot be *basic* in the universal sense in which a germ disease is a basic biopathy. The psychoanalysts, body-type theorists, endocrinologists, geneticists, and others, have proposed various universal, "causal" explanations of psychopathy in terms of instinctual drives, glandular imbalance, genes, and other biogenetic factors. These efforts have not been very satisfactory because they have tried to "explain" behavior that has a large cultural content while ignoring culture itself. Some of the cultural revisionists of psychoanalysis have attempted to overcome this defect. So far, they have done little more than show pretty conclusively that there is such wide cultural differences in behavior that the older culture-ignoring concepts are largely worthless.

The cultural approach to psychiatry has been stymied by the current cultural relativity which obscures and obfuscates all the social sciences. We must have a special analysis for each culture and almost for each patient. To speak of *basic* psychoses and neuroses in any sense other than the admittedly loose one I have used above does not seem possible at present. To attempt it for our own culture at this particular moment produces more confusion than consensus. The present fashion, in the effort to overcome this difficulty, is to use large fuzzy phrases like aggression-frustration, dominance-submission, conflict (competition)-co-operation, compensation-repression (guilt feeling), flight-fight, sadism-masochism, etc., which are sufficiently vague and inclusive that the differences between cultures and between different classes and segments of the same culture can be subsumed plausibly under the loosely defined and still more loosely interpreted catch-all terms.

This is an unprofitable method of dealing with the problem of cultural relativity. It is quite foreign to the universalizing and simplifying goal of all natural science. It is doubtful whether we ever shall solve all the logical and practical problems raised by the facts of cultural relativity, but until we can make universal generalizations, both as to symptoms and causes, which are more definitive than our present verbal jugglery, work in psychopathy and sociopathy will be more an imaginative and normative art than a natural science. Though there is still considerable art in biopathic diagnosis and therapy, on the whole, it is an art based on natural science. I suspect such a condition cannot be reached in psychopathic and sociopathic diagnosis and therapy until the social sciences shall have become as well-integrated natural sciences as the biological sciences now are.

I have no doubt there are *basic* functional neuroses and psychoses which transcend local time and space, race, sex, and all other forms of cul-

tural relativity, but I am also sure we have very little scientific knowledge about them at present. It is to Freud's everlasting credit that he saw this problem clearly and tried to solve it. Although his proposed solution is now known to be both theoretically and therapeutically unsound, he always will symbolize this vision of a natural-science-based psycho- and sociopathology in somewhat the same way that Copernicus and Darwin symbolize modern astronomy and organic evolution even though his work was as incomplete as theirs. One mark of the revolutionary mind is that it always bites off more than it can chew; it sets a general task at which lesser men and lesser minds can work productively for centuries.

The concepts of psychopathic and sociopathic disease eventually will become as universal and unequivocal as the present concepts of biopathic disease. Cultural, temporal, and spatial relativity plays no part in biological diseases except to condition their incidence, seriousness, and the kind of diagnosis and therapy they receive. Some day, the same will be true of psychopathic and sociopathic diseases. However, before this is possible, the social sciences must transcend their present bondage to cultural relativity. Like natural selection, cultural relativity is a fact but it need not delay scientific societal knowledge even as long as natural selection delayed scientific knowledge of both biological and cultural evolution.

Physical science was greatly disturbed a generation ago by the concept of relativity but it has now almost completely assimilated relativity into its theoretical framework. The result has been astounding discoveries and inventions; still more startling innovations are just around the corner. The results of the "new physics" bid fair to be more revolutionary than the brilliant work of the nineteenth century which so greatly transformed both our technology and ideology. Cultural relativity has been familiar to social scientists at least since Comte but so far it has produced more confusion than scientific consensus. I think this difference is due to the fact that physics was a fairly well developed natural science before it began dabbling with relativity. We bit off cultural relativity while we had only the milk teeth of science and consequently have not been able to chew it and digest it; nor shall we, until the social sciences become mature natural sciences.

To become natural sciences, the social sciences must do several things. To mature, we must assimilate the growth hormone of the unity of science; we must develop quantitative, instrumental, and experimental research; we must have social theory that is more than antiquarian rummaging; we must recognize the reciprocal and conjugative relationship between "pure" and "applied" social science; we must completely destroy the idea that social

phenomena are "essentially different" from other natural phenomena. All of these growth hormones are being fed into the rising generation of social scientists. We should begin to see signs of approaching maturity by the end of the century.

PSYCHODRAMA

Collected Papers

By J. L. MORENO, M.D.

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